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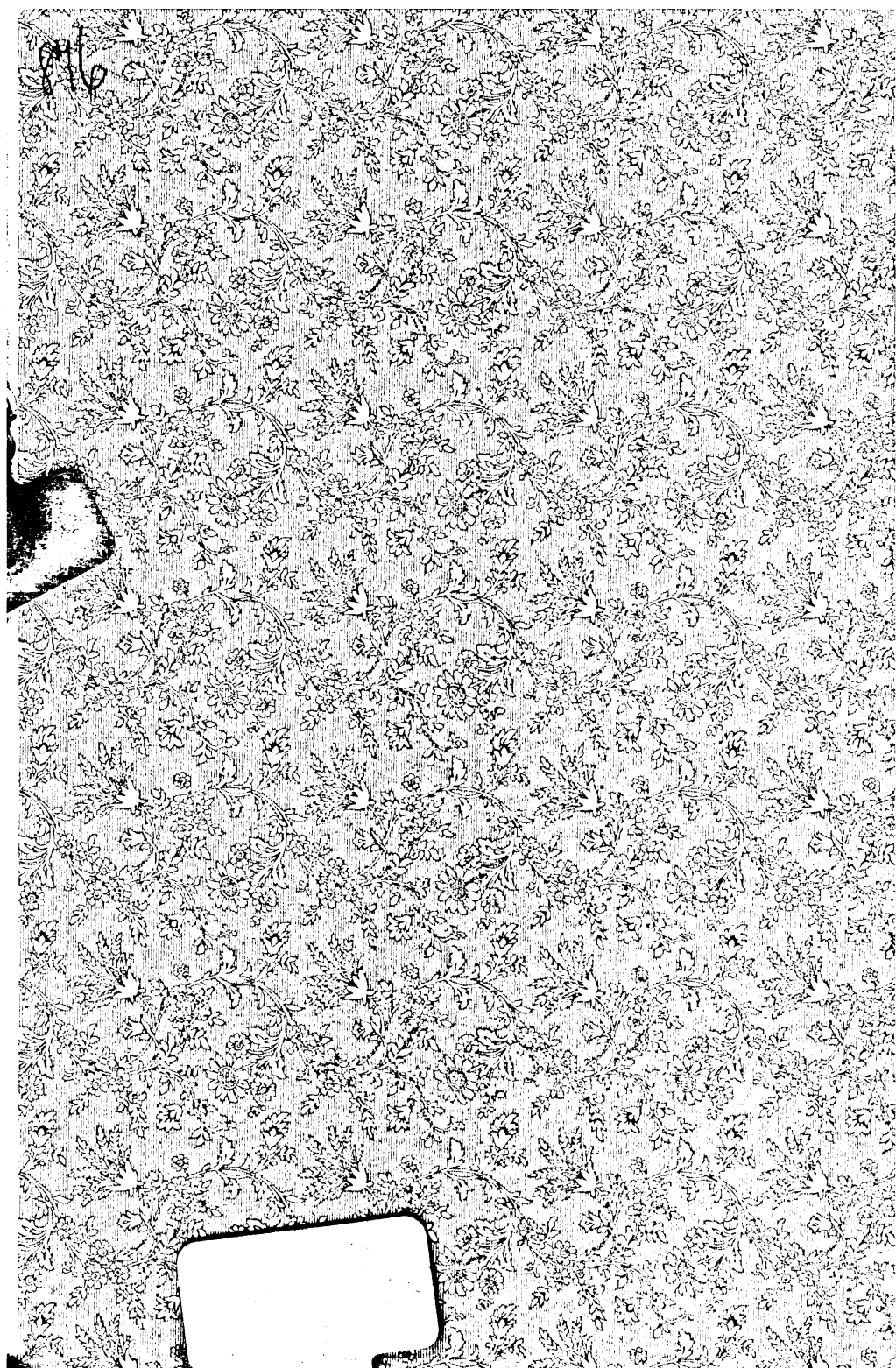
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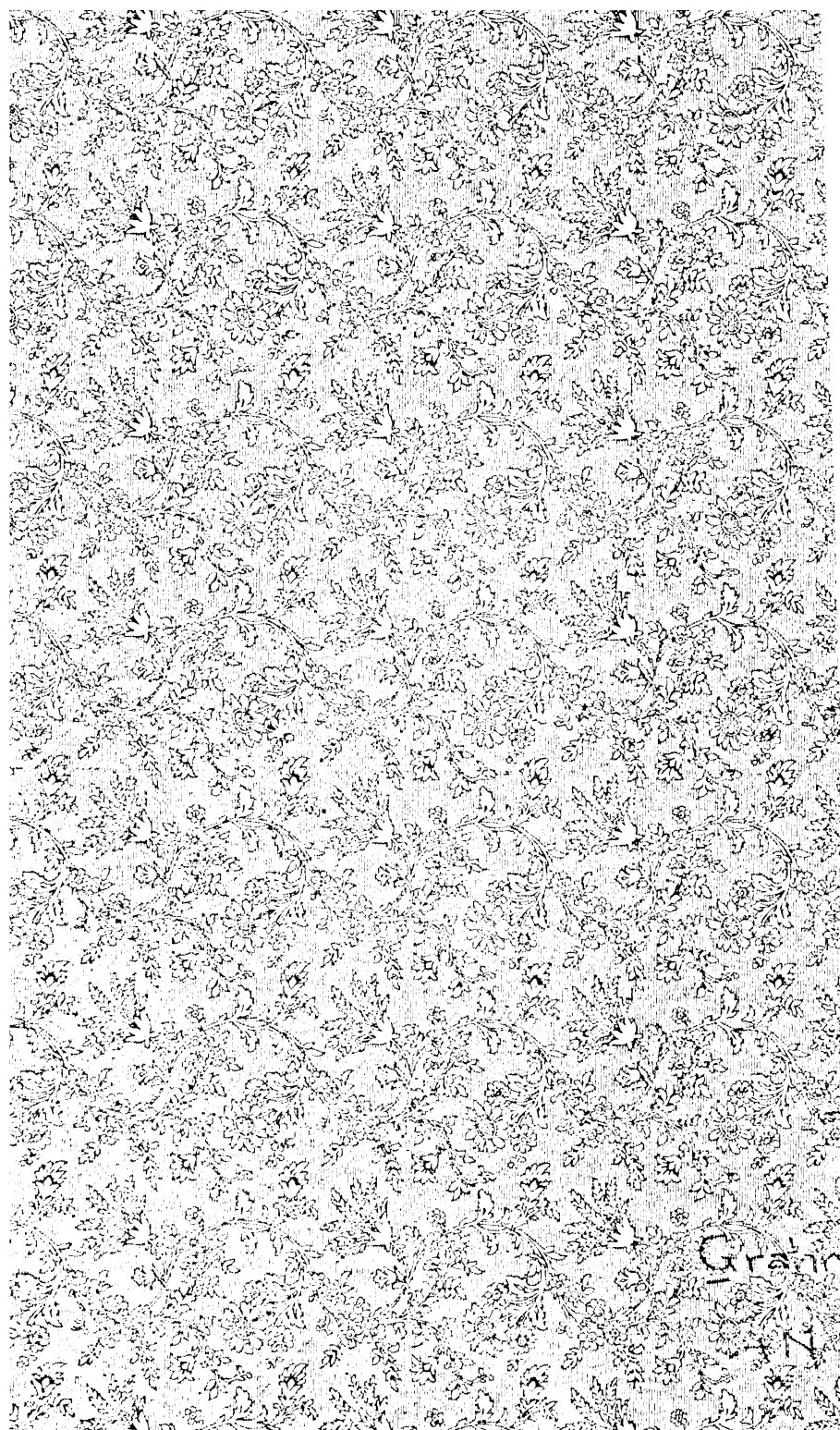
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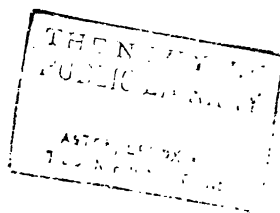






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Colonel James Grahme,

OF LEVENS.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JACOBITE
TIMES.

*COMPILED FROM CONTEMPORARY LETTERS AND
PAPERS AT LEVENS HALL,*

BY

^{F. 47}
JOSCELINE BAGOT.

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COLONEL JAMES GRAHME,

OF LEVENS.

JUST four hundred years ago, Alan Bellingham, Treasurer of Berwick and Deputy Warden of the Marches, bought the Manor of Levens from the Redman family, who had resided at Upper or Over Levens Hall, since 1187. This Alan belonged to an old Northumbrian family, and was a younger son of Sir Robert Bellingham, of Burneshead. In addition to Levens he became possessed of Helsington, Fawcett Forest, Gathorne, and other estates in Westmorland, where his family continued to reside until about the year 1687, when another Alan Bellingham, after a life of reckless extravagance, was compelled to part with the whole of his Westmorland property. It was purchased by Colonel James Grahme,* whose not uninteresting career may be gathered from the mass of correspondence preserved at Levens and recently investigated and reported upon, together with many ancient deeds of the 12th and 13th centuries, by Mr. Maxwell Lyte, for the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

The life of the purchaser of Levens, took its colouring from the eventful times in which he lived, and his character can be easily gathered from his letters. As one of the most trusted servants of James the Second, almost certain of a successful career had his master remained on the throne, it is not to be wondered at that after the Revolution in 1689, James Grahme should have secretly lent to the unfortunate party that for so many years hoped and schemed in vain for the restoration of the Stuart dynasty.

He seems to have been a man of considerable ability and

* The name is variously spelled Graham, Grahame, and Grahme, but the author has adhered to the way he spelled his name himself, and as it is most frequently spelled in the Levens papers.

Levens, 1187-1687. 4/3

some ambition ; a strong character, not easily overpowered by misfortunes of any sort, but imbued with a good deal of caution ; a somewhat useful commodity to Jacobite gentlemen who wished to keep their heads on their shoulders in those days, and one not possessed in the same degree by two of his brothers, the elder whom narrowly escaped execution, while the other was forced to spend his days in exile.

Colonel Grahme, judging from the pictures known of him, was a decidedly handsome man, tall and thin, with a dark rather melancholy cast of countenance.*

He is described by Horace Walpole, as having been a fashionable man in his day, and noted for his dry humour.†

He was born in 1649, and was the second son of Sir George Grahme or Graham of Netherby. His elder brother, to whom he probably owed his early advancement at court, was Richard, created Viscount Preston, by Charles II., who was a Secretary of State in that reign, and afterwards Lord Lieutenant of Westmorland and Cumberland.‡ He married, at the age of 26, Dorothy Howard, daughter of William Howard, a son of Thomas, Earl of Berkshire.

Mention is made of Grahme in his younger days, and of the circumstances of his marriage, by Evelyn in his journal, who records a journey taken with Mrs. Howard and her daughters to Northampton and afterwards to Oxford, to what would now be called Commemoration—this was in July 1675. "In this journey," he relates, "went part of the way Mr. James Grahme, since Privy Purse to the Duke" (James Duke of York), "a young gentleman exceedingly in love with Mrs. Dorothy Howard, one of the Maids of Honour§ in our company, I could not but pity them both, the mother not much

* There is an excellent picture of him in the Library of Levens Hall, by Sir Peter Lely, also a pencil drawing of him at Alford Hall, in Staffordshire.

† "Horace Walpole's Reminiscences of the Courts of George 1st and 2nd." Walpole gives a specimen of Colonel Grahme's dry humour on the not very creditable subject of his relationship to the Duchess of Buckingham, a celebrated character of those times, who was very proud of being supposed to be a daughter of James II. See also "Walpole's letters to Sir Horace Mann," (March 14th, 1743), ed. Cunningham. Pub. Bentley, Vol. i.

‡ 1687. Macaulay's History, Vol. III., p. 60. See also Vol. V. p. 220.

§ To Queen Catherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II. Sir Thomas Strickland, of Sizergh, was her Privy Purse at one time.

favouring it; this lady was not only a great beauty, but a most virtuous and excellent creature, and worthy to have been the wife of the best of men "My advice" he adds, "was required, and I spoke to the advantage of the young gentleman more out of pitty, than that she deserved no better match, for though he was a gentleman of good family, yet there was a great inequality."

Previous to this James Grahme had been serving in the French Army; an interesting passport preserved at Levens, signed by Marshal Turenne, shews him to have held a Captain's commission in the regiment of English auxiliaries, commanded by the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, and amongst the papers at Levens connected with his career, are various military and other commissions signed by Charles II., Louis XIV., Prince Rupert, and others.

One is a commission to "Le Sire de Greane" to command two battalions in Monmouth's Regiment already alluded to; another is a Colonel's commission in Lord Morpeth's Regiment, an appointment to the office of Master of the Buckhounds, another to be Lieutenant of Windsor Forest, the freedom of the borough of Stirling, the city of Linlithgow, &c.

He had been educated at Westminster and at Christchurch, Oxford, and Evelyn's remark on the inequality between him and Dorothy Howard would appear quite uncalled for, and it is evident from his purchase of the whole of Alan Bellingham's property soon after his marriage that, although a younger son, he could not have been a poor man at the time.

Shortly after the journey to Oxford already mentioned, Grahme and Dorothy Howard were married, and Evelyn alludes to them two years after in his diary as living in apartments at St James' Palace.

Later, in 1685, we meet with them again at Bagshot, where, until the Revolution, the Stuart Kings had a hunting lodge; Evelyn was on this occasion on his return from the journey he had taken with Pepys to Portsmouth to inspect the fortifications. "While supper was making ready, I went and made a visit to Mrs. Grahme, sometime Mayd of Honour to ye Queene Dowager, now wife to James Grahme Esq., of the Privy Purse to the King," he goes on to describe their Lodge

at Bagshot, with the park full of red deer about it, and their children, the eldest of whom had the small pox, the others being allowed to be with him, Evelyn relates, as Mrs. Grahme considered it best for them to get the disease while young if they were to have it, "the severity of this cruel disease so lately in my poore family, confirming much of what she affirmed."

A melancholy history is attached to Col. Grahme's children (three sons and two daughters), with the exception of one daughter, his heiress. The eldest, Henry, was elected one of the Knights of the Shire for Westmorland for the Parliament which met in 1700, but there is little to be recorded of his life, which was brought to an early close whilst again in Parliament for the same county,* save the circumstances of his marriage, which was a great trouble to the family.

A celebrated London actress known by the name of Moll Davis, had attracted the notice of Charles the Second, and had by him a daughter who was called Mary Tudor; she is spoken of by Pepys in his diary (March 1667), as being an infinitely superior dancer to Nell Gwynn, and some months after he had been to see her on the stage, he speaks of the King being in love with her and taking a house for her, and writes "Miss Davis is now the most impertinent Slut in the world . . . the King gazing at her and my Lady Castlemaine being melancholy and out of humour,"† he adds that she was supposed to be an illegitimate daughter of Lord Berkshire, who was Dorothy Grahme's uncle.

Mary Tudor was married before she was fourteen to Francis Ratcliff, eldest son of Sir Francis Ratcliff, afterwards Earl of Derwentwater.

The issue of this marriage was three sons, two of whom perished on the scaffold; and within a year of the death of her husband, the second Earl of Derwentwater, Henry Grahme married the widow, the daughter of Charles II. and

* "Henry Grahme, Knight of the Shire for Westmorland is dead." Luttrell's Diary, 11th January, 1707.

† See note on Mary Davis, Grammont's Memoirs, ed., Sir W. Scott. Pepy's Diary, 1666-8.

Moll Davis, who, from the testimony of his uncle the Dean of Wells, and others of the family, was a notoriously bad woman.

Henry Grahme at this time held an office about the person of Prince George of Denmark, but was dismissed from it on his marriage; on his death his wife was married again within the year, to a son of General Rooke.

Colonel Grahme's second son, William, the "Captain" of the Levens correspondence, was in the Navy, and served with distinction under Sir George Rooke, who writes in 1704 to his father, "Mr. Graham has behaved himself deservingly, he was wounded at Gibraltar, but I think he had no hurt in the battle, and I shall be ready to do him any service," soon after he got a ship, but his wounds do not appear to have been cured, for there continue to be constant allusions to his lameness and suffering condition, and he died shortly.

Some ten or twelve years before this, Richard, the youngest son, had sunk into an early grave, and amongst the Levens correspondence is a packet of letters from Hugh Todd, Vicar of Penrith and Canon of Carlisle later, then apparently a college tutor, which forms a complete series describing the illness and suffering of Richard Graham, and his life at Oxford.

With altered names of persons and places, this correspondence was some few years ago compiled into a volume called "A Student Penitent of 1695," by the Rev. Francis Paget.*

Colonel Grahme was thus left with no sons early in life, and on his death, at the age of eighty, his estates passed to his eldest daughter, Catherine, who had married her first cousin Henry Howard, Earl of Berkshire, Deputy Earl Marshal of England.

But the most stirring times had overtaken this country when Levens passed into the hands of the Grahmes, who were destined to have their full share of them; and the well known events occurred shortly afterwards which compelled the King to leave his throne and fly from the shores of his Kingdom.

* A Student Penitent of 1695. By Rev. F. E. Paget. 8vo. Published by J. Masters and Co.

At this time Col. Grahme, keeper of his Privy Purse, appears to have been the most trusted servant of King James II., whom he accompanied in his flight to Rochester, which is described in a letter preserved at Levens from Sir Stephen Fox to Mrs. Grahme, dated at Whitehall, Dec. 18th, 1688.*

"Your husband went with the King to Rochester this morning, and he told me that he had no time to write. About one o'clock this morning, the Marquess of Halifax, the Earl of Shewsbury, and Lord Delamere, came to the King from the Prince of Orange, and told him that the Prince desired him to remove to Ham. The King chose Rochester rather, whereupon their Lordships returned about nine o'clock with leave that it might be Rochester. About eleven o'clock the King went in his barges for Gravesend, whither his coaches were sent before. He was attended by three Lords of the Bedchamber, and a Physician, and several others, besides your husband, and a convenient number of household servants and—at his own desire—a hundred of the Prince's foot guards and sixty horse. He is not under any restraint. The Prince arrived at St. James's about three o'clock, resorted to by all who can get in. I was by command left here, extremely troubled for the circumstances of my master. I hope for a happy Parliament. I wish you and Lady Sylvius here, as the safest place, for the rabble is quiet in this city. It is said that they are terrible in many countries."†

On the very day of his flight, James wrote three brief notes which testify to his confidence in Grahme, contemporary copies of which documents are still at Levens.

The first, directed to William Chiffinch,‡ a well known character of the Stuart times, is as follows :

* Sir Stephen Fox was a devoted adherent to the Stuarts, a great minister, and said to be the wealthiest subject in the kingdom. He lived during the reign of six sovereigns and was the Projector of Chelsea Hospital, towards the building of which he contributed largely.

† In this and most of the letters quoted the spelling is modernised, and the general sense of the letters and not a literal copy is given in the same way as they are printed for the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

‡ Chiffinch's character and position are well drawn in Sir Walter Scott's *Peverel of the Peak*. So great was the confidence reposed in him that he was the receiver of the secret pensions paid by the court of France to the King, see note to his name in *Grammont's Memoirs* ed. Walter Scott.

Will Chiffins,

I suppose you have got in your hands, the service off plate off mine which you kept, put it into James Graham's hands, for my use, as alsoe those things you where a putting up when I came away, and the antiches (antique) watch that was in the same place, and which was off value there, except pictures.

Lett him have also the three strong boxes which stood in the outward roome; with what is off value in the Cabinet which stood in the same roome with them, with the books of devotions and prayer books (which) are in any off my closetts with the altar-plate if any were left in the little chapel below stairs, and for soe doing this shall be your discharge.

JAMES R.*

Send alsoe the saileing, and fighting instructions, the list off the sea commanding, and the stablishment off my horse. †

J. R.

The second, dated from Rochester, is to Sir William Turner, telling him that James had always found him honest and dared to trust him and desiring him to assist Col. Grahme in securing his share book in the East India and Guinea companies; and the third written at the same time to Sir Benjamin Bathurst is to the same effect, to assist the Colonel in securing the King's money.

From the legal documents drawn up at "St. Germaine's en laye" on the 16th of the next month, (January 1689), it appears that the King transferred sums of a value of £13000 in different securities to James Grahme, and a document in Grahme's own handwriting explains why he did so and the difficulties into which he was thrown, "when the King, my master, went for Rochester, he was refused money by Sir Robert Howard," (auditor of the exchequer), "I did then of my own money and by credit from Sir T. Powis get him 6000 ds." the document continues giving an account of

* This letter is given exactly as written.

† A letter from James II. to Lord Preston (printed by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Netherby papers), written soon after this, desires the management of the King's horses to be handed over to Colonel James Grahme.

Grahme's transactions in East India and other stock for the King, and states that "in the end of '91 when I was in some trouble, they got a decree in the exchequer against me, and made me account for the whole and refund." To this is appended a list of some of the presents given by the King, "which paper" adds Grahme "I shewd Lord Treasurer." It is a long list of tolerably handsome presents with such items as "to the two master cooks" (at St. James's), £21 10; the drummers of the Guards £10 15; and "to the men that take the carts for the voyage" £1 1s. 6d. Part of Grahme's duties as Privy Purse was to provide "healing medals" for those who were touched for the King's evil, and after the Revolution he was called on to repay money had for the purpose to the extent of over £1000.*

But probably the most interesting among the Levens papers is one endorsed by Col. Grahme, "King's reasons from Rochester" and which is the original draft in the handwriting of James II, with a few interlineations and alterations, giving his reasons for withdrawing from the country.†

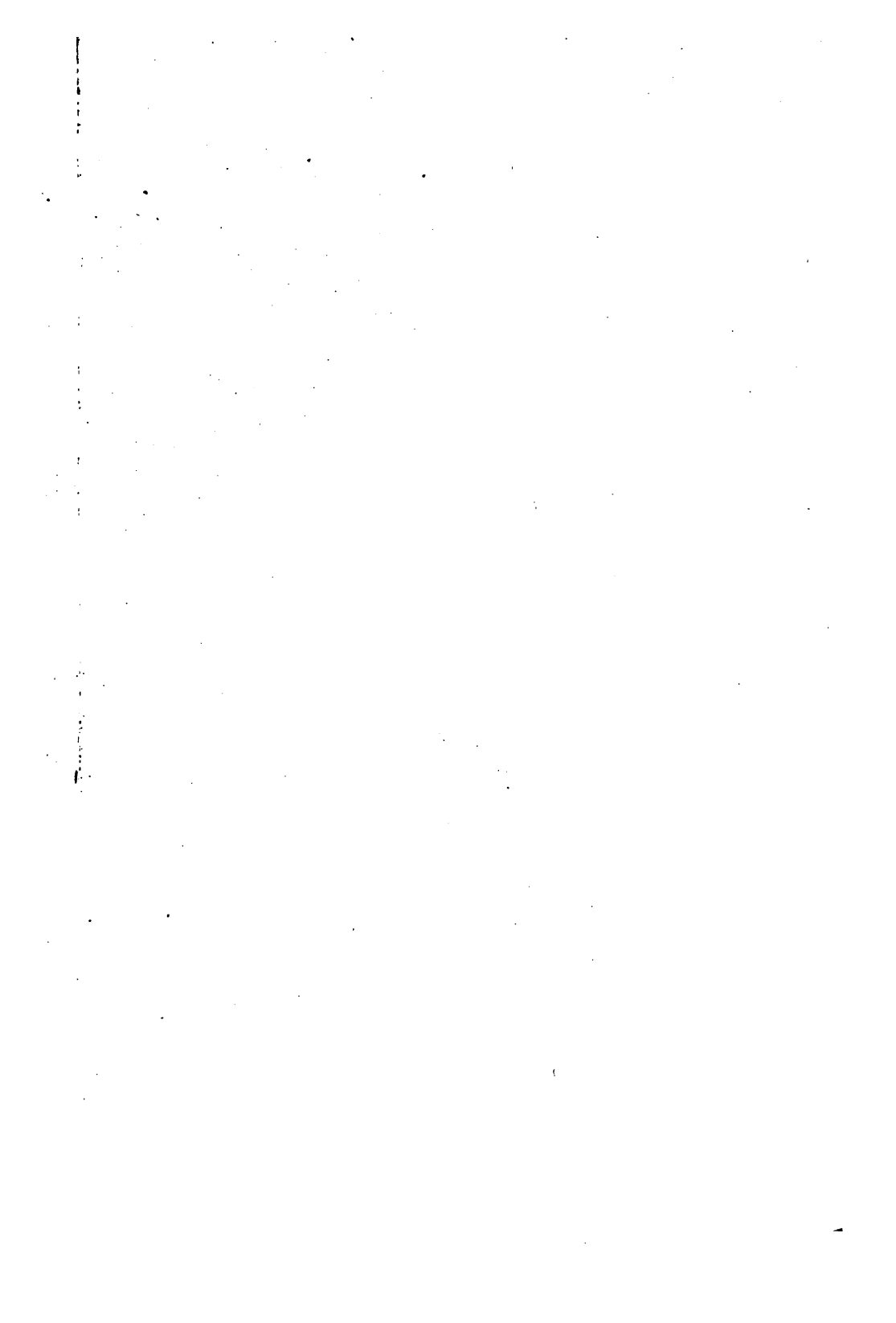
As soon as his majesty had crossed the channel he writes in a disguised hand to Grahme, a letter which is thus docketed by the receiver, "Mr. Bank's 1st letter after his going to Oxford."

In the Jacobite correspondence at Levens, as will be seen hereafter, names of places and persons were changed, and "Mr. Banks" the name of the Levens steward, often stands for the King. "Oxford" being the name for France.

[1688, December 25.] "Boulogne. January the 4, 1689. New stile. I arrived safe here this day and have but little to say to you at present but that I am going on to Paris, from whence you shall heare from me when I arrive there. In the meane tyme go to my corispondent that payd you some mony upon my account, and put him in mind of putting the rest of the mony I bad him put unto your hands, that you may returne that, and what you had of myne in your hands, to me as sone as you can, I having present occasion for it, and pray

* See "Treasury Papers" ed., Redington. 1702, 1707.

† The corrected version of this original paper is printed in Echard's History of England, vol. iii., p. 940.





remember me to your friend with who I was to have been, if I had stayed. Lett me know a little newse."

The terms on which the the Privy Purse was with his Royal master are apparent from the fact that the King's last communication, in his own writing, on leaving the shores of England, and the first on his arrival in France, are addressed to James Grahme.

After the flight of James, although often the object of suspicion, Colonel Grahme was more fortunate than most of the adherents of the Stuarts, and he continued to retain possession of his lodge at Bagshot, and to some office in connection with it for some time. A paper at Levens, dated some months after the accession of William, gives an account of 108 red deer, moved from Germany into Windsor Park by order of the Prince of Orange, and for which £117 was paid by Grahme to Thomas Howard "yeoman of the Toyles." A letter from Hampton Court a few months later speaks of the King (William), accepting with pleasure some dogs sent by Grahme; and a later one from the same place, of the King having ordered his Master of the Buckhounds to confer with Grahme about the deer at Windsor.

These letters are from Bentinck, Earl of Portland, one of Williams favourite attendants, and are written in French; he became Col. Grahme's ultimate succession at Bagshot.

In the same year as the last letter, Grahme's brother William, the Dean of Wells, writes to him at Levens from Windsor, that he had given the Princess (Anne, afterwards Queen) his message saying he was glad the Lodge could afford her anything that was acceptable, and that the Princess sending her thanks enquired how long he and his family would stay at Levens, adding "your keeper is here, and has brought me some fruit and rabbits."

In 1700 the Dean again writes to Grahme at Levens, "I gave your duty to the Princesse, and said that you would send her some Char, she thanked you and asked how you and your family were and if you intended to fix in the country and I answered in the affirmative."

Col. Grahme had good reasons for "fixing in the country in those days of suspicions and intrigues, for during the last

few years he had been more than once proclaimed for High Treason, as will be seen hereafter, and a sign of the times can be seen in a letter written in the same year by the Duke of Hamilton to him at Levens, dated from Holyrood, telling him the Duke had shewn a letter of Grahme's to the High Commissioner, "for upon very small grounds storms are made, as if the bearer came hither upon some mysterious intrigue," the Duke ends by saying when he goes into Lancashire he will not fail to see Levens.

This was the celebrated Duke of Hamilton, who afterwards was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, and in all probability lost his life in consequence, as the Whigs were alarmed on the supposition that he favoured the Pretender,* which seems probable from his correspondence and intimacy with Grahme and other Jacobites. Lord Mohun, who had been twice tried for murder, and (according to Smollett), "was counted a mean tool as well as a hector of the Whig party," after picking a quarrel with Hamilton, challenged him, and they fought in Hyde Park with such fury that both were killed. Mohun's second, Macartney, was said to have stabbed the Duke from behind. The Duke's second was Colonel Hamilton, who had engaged and disarmed Macartney during the duel between their principals.

This duel made an immense sensation in England at the time, and those who have read Thackeray's "Esmond," will no doubt remember the description of the fight, and the graphic scene where Swift brings the news of the duel to Lord Bolingbroke.† Lord Mohun's character is well known from the same work.

There are at Levens many letters from the Duke of Hamilton to Grahme, one is written very shortly before the tragedy above mentioned (in 1712). "Her majesty has made me master of the ordnance, and has appointed me to go into France to negotiate some affairs and to be her ambassador extraordinary at the Peace. This last is a great honour but

* Smollett's Hist. of England. Vol. ii.

† The History of Harry Esmond, by W. M. Thackeray. (The characters of Bolingbroke, Hamilton, and several of Col. Grahme's correspondents are well drawn in this masterpiece of Thackeray's).

attended with many difficulties, which without the Colonel's effectual assistance I shall never be able to get through."

The Tories roundly accused the Whigs' of murdering the Duke. Macartney, who had escaped and for whom heavy rewards were offered, returned, and was tried and acquitted, but the Duke of Marlborough who had been widely accused as being the author of the mischief, retired to the Continent.*

An amusing letter from Hamilton to Grahme, at Levens, says "the proceedings with you about our affairs are above my comprehension, they put mein mind of what I have heard of the Peace of Ryswick, when it was said that it was like the Peace of God, *which passes all understanding*."

Colonel Grahme however, in spite of the intrigues with which he was surrounded, was a cautious man, and unlike his elder brother, went somewhat on the principle of "Le Roi est mort, vive le Roi." He appears to have made the best of circumstances after the deposition of James, and although a staunch Jacobite at heart, which he remained for the rest of his life, he succeeded tolerably well in evading any very serious trouble, though he appears to have had several narrow escapes.

It is recorded in "Luttrell's Diary" on the day on which Lord Preston was sentenced to death for High Treason, "great search has been made for the Bishop of Ely, but it is said he and Col. Grahme, Lord Preston's brother, are gott over into France.†"

On the 6th of the following month, a proclamation is issued against them, and the Attorney General has orders to prosecute Col. Grahme for high treason, but in February, the following year, he receives their Majesty's pardon.

Within three months, however, there is another proclamation out against him,‡ in company with Lord Scarsdale and many others.

Grahme and Scarsdale surrendered soon after, and were admitted to bail, and in November of the same year Luttrell mentions Grahme as being continued on his own recognizances at the King's Bench, but nothing was ever finally proved against him.

* Smollett's History.

† Luttrell's Diary, Jan. 19, 1691.

‡ Ditto May 11, 1692.

In 1696 he again was in difficulties.

A plot to murder King William was discovered, and many Jacobites were arrested and imprisoned on suspicion, amongst whom was James Grahme, the warrant from the Privy Council for his arrest and committal to the Fleet Prison, for suspicion of high treason, being amongst the Levens papers. Evelyn gives an account of this plot in his journal, and mentions visiting Grahme in "the Fleete."

Several of the conspirators were executed, including Sir John Fenwick, who had married Lady Mary Howard, sister to Lady Preston, whose husband, Grahme's elder brother, had some years before this been committed to the Tower, tried at the Old Bailey and sentenced to death for treason, but had been pardoned.

Colonel Grahme escaped with a short imprisonment, and was soon released without trial. His brother Fergus, who had also suffered for his devotion to the Stuarts, writes to him at this time advising him to settle at Levens and keep as quiet as he can.

Fergus Grahme had fled the country soon after the accession of William, he appears to have been a very able man, being probably in all the plots and secrets of the Jacobites, and was carefully watched by the government at home. His letters to his brother James from 1693 to 1720, give an insight into the many shifts and privations to which the followers of James II were driven in their thankless service.

Fergus was of sufficient importance that when he arrives at Brussels in 1699, the Prince de Berge is "commanded by the Duke of Bavaria to order me to leave Bruxelle the next day." He writes that he is deserted by all except his brother James, and complains of great poverty, when the King (James) cuts off his pension, though permission to return home is still withheld, (1709).

Colonel Grahme took his brother's advice and continued to live quietly at Levens, devoting his time to country affairs, still however carrying on a more or less treasonable correspondence with his old friends, Jacobites of a more or less pronounced character, some busy plotters, others merely those hoping for a restoration of the House of Stuart during or after the reign of Anne.

Amongst his correspondence preserved at Levens; are letters from the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Peterborough, Carlisle, and Thanet; Lords Bolingbroke, Middleton, Weymouth, Godolphin, Gower, Lonsdale, Sir George Rooke, Bishops Ken, Turner, Atterbury, Fell, Kettlewell; William Wycherly, and other men of eminence.

Some letters are in cipher, to which the key is luckily present; the cipher consisting in the substitution of one letter for another and of numbers to represent certain names, and alterations of others.

A somewhat similar cipher was found on Ashton, who was tried with Lord Preston for treason and executed.* The following is the one used by Grahme and his correspondents.

“My Oxford Cypher.

D Y O M E T R I C A L B

F G H K N P Q S V W X Z.

K[ing]	Jam[es]	-	-	-	19
K[ing]	Luies	-	-	-	13
K[ing]	William	-	-	-	17
Portsmouth	-	-	-	-	25
Gibjoun	-	-	-	-	15
Deall	-	-	-	-	23
Waugh	-	-	-	-	11
† L ^d Middleton	-	-	-	-	10
‡ L ^d Melfourd	-	-	-	-	16
L ^d Brudenall	-	-	-	-	14
Mr. Grahme	-	-	-	-	18
My Genny	-	-	-	-	9
Rosey	-	-	-	-	8
Bishops	-	-	-	-	7
† Trotter	-	-	-	-	Melfort.
Dobson	-	-	-	-	Renodau.
Sydick	-	-	-	-	Coorsy. [Courcy].
Bonson	-	-	-	-	K[ing] Lew[is].
Arthur (or Artlye)	-	-	-	-	K[ing] J[ames].

* See “State Trials,” Vol. iv., p. 444. Also Lord Preston’s letters. Netherby papers, (Hist. Man, Com.)

† Lord Middleton, see Macaulay’s Hist. ch. xx.

‡ Lord Melfort, Macaulay’s Hist. ch. v.

Toncroft	-	-	-	Ld Midleton.
Linsy	-	-	-	Robertson.
Simpson Jones	-	-	-	Roberts.
Crosby	-	-	-	Clinch."

Many extraordinary names of persons and things also occur, probably written not only for purposes of disguise, but being part of a sort of slang vocabulary used amongst Col. Grahme's set, some of the letters being in consequence quite unintelligible, of which some specimens are given hereafter as "curiosities of literature."* An illustration of the cipher is as follows:—

"June ye 3rd.

Mr. Chapman's note was shew'd to Mr. Bankes, who assures you of his friendship. When you goe out o' town he would be glad you could leave some directions about transmitting the acct. mentioned. Ther will be no need of sending E w Q Z H Q Q H A I except they relate to ye F C P N G A W Q Q I.

None can love you more than 10."

Which is thus translated :—

"Col. Grahme's note was shewn to the King, who assures you of his friendship. When you go out of town he would be glad if you could leave some directions about transmitting the accounts mentioned. There will be no need of sending Narborow's except they relate to the Dutch wars.

None can love you more than

MIDDLETON."

Sir John Narborough, a strong Jacobite, was at that time a Commissioner of the Navy.

Here is another specimen :—

"April ye 7th.

I may say to you that my silence has proceeded from my respect, with more truth than ever it was said to a Lady.

"19 (Lord Brudenell) desires to have ye collection of I N W

* For similar letters and expressions, and the use of ciphers amongst Jacobites, see "letters of Francis Atterbury" by Glover, pub. Wright, 1847. Also "Stuart Papers at Windsor" by the same author.

S H I Q E W I. (sea journals) wch were left with X. F w Q P K H I P O" (Lord Dartmouth), etc., etc., ending "we are all well. Much yrs. My service to ye Grandmaster of ye Jerkers.

"10." (MIDDLETON).

So in other letters K W Q I O W X X F N I P Q N N is Marshall Destree; F E M N W X Z N K W Q X N, Dnke Albemarle, etc. King James is "Mr. Banks," sometimes "your lawyer," or "the Knight." Col. Grahme is "Sir Humphry Pallsworth," "Sir Paull," or most frequently "Mr. James Chapman."

Several of the most eminent of the non-juring clergy were amongst Grahme's most intimate friends.

In the library at Levens are books inscribed as the gift of Kettlewell, while very many letters contain messages from Thomas Ken,* the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells, a frequent visitor at Levens, as may be seen from the correspondence, there room he occupied there, being to this day called "the Bishop's room."

The following extract from a letter from Lord Gower, is a specimen of the curious and quaint jargon in which much of the Levens correspondence is couched:—

"The Cracovian peer pretends to great information, and assures us that Augustin's measures will not hinder Stanislaus, ("Stanislaus" is reported in another letter as likely to be Master of the Horse), "from having all his friends about him. Lord Shatterino has left my Lady to treat all the tradesmen, and, being a man of method, has committed to writing every day's bill of Fare, and the company for it. The Butcher, the Baker, and the Fruit woman dined to-day, and the Chandler, Shoo maker, (*sic*) and another, tomorrow."

The same nobleman; in a letter to Colonel Grahme from Belvoir Castle, dated September 13th, 1704, outdoes all the other puzzling communications of the same kind:—

"Sir,

"I received ye favour of yr letter from a servant of Lord Annandale.

"The condition he found me in deprived me of the honour

* Bishop Ken. See Macaulay's History of England. Vol v., p. 79.

and satisfaction of his (Ld A's) company. This is almost the first use I have made of my hands these three weeks; having been fed like a child, most part of the time, and acknowledge with shame the receipt of a former letter which followed me to Belvoir.

"I intended writing to you so soon as I came to this place, to claim a certain promise you made me, but upon my first coming hither I was entertained with an Advertisement from ye Bath of ye Seven Wonders of yeWorld; and tho' Sir Humphrey Polesworth (Colonel Grahme) had not been named; to be in ye chaire, I could have sworn safely to his being there, and to his stile and manner, I am much at a loss for a key (so) that I shall hardly sleep till I hear from you againe, I beseeche you to explain what is meant by Harlequin and his three brothers, lately arrived from France in an Owler; what by the dances on the high rope by ye five Prophets newly come from the Cevennes, who dance without poles, or anything to Ballance them. Who is meant by the first, booted and spurred in a Jockey dress? who the second, in a Parchment suit embroidered with figures monstrous and characters dire? or the third, in a coat of patchwork, part of a sanguine hue, and part title-pages, with an inner garment of slight stuff? and who the fourth, with a Trident? or fifth, with a Bagpipe before him? Prithee, explain ye meaning of ye four names between Bambouzelbergius? late Secretarye to the Emperor of Japan, and Ruffullwrinklephiz, the magician: why the first is mounted on a white elephant, and armed in brass; and ye other on a sorrell Dromedary, only in tin? and explain to me the crooked and surprising figure of the weapons, the like whereof were never seen in England, and what metal you really believe them to be made of. Explain the piece in Perspective, the man and his wife fastened back to back; the Wonders of the Peake; the entire mummie; and ye Enchanted Island, where Duke Trinculo, and ye faire partner of his bed, Sycorax, are so well represented with their princely issue, their great traine of favourites, spies, . . . and other beggars on horseback. As I look upon this to be your Masterpiece, I keep it with great care and hope you will not refuse me the key I desire. If you do, I protest I will print

the whole piece, with Sr. Humphrey Polesworth's name at the top, with an Epistle Dedicatory to superficial. I should have been more particular after Albano, and his Paludigerous Squire Baldicaron, Plunderalion, and Andrew Bristo? but any enquiry after these few particulars, I expect shall lead you to an explanation of the whole. Morley is here with me, and much your servant. And I hope you will believe nobody is with greater sincerity than your faithful servant,"

GOWER.

To James Graham, Esqr., at Levens
near Kendale, Westmorland."

Many other aliases and quaint names occur, the meaning of which it is impossible to discover from the Levens papers, though a comparison with similar letters of the same time, such as Atterbury's,* might give a clue to the meaning of some of the expressions. Their historical interest however, would probably not be sufficient to repay the search, for both the persons and the facts thus carefully hidden were, after all, for the most part, of such second-rate importance, or merely passing interest, that history would not care to preserve them.

Mr. Hampden writing London news to his friend Grahme at Christmas 1716, thus brings many of these terms together, which are scattered over other letters.

"The Tritonians, Timberlins, Demetrions etc., are all too busy to allow me to converse with them. The Florentine and Ld. Carteret present their service. I believe the Giggs are almost over for the present . . . I suppose you hear by the prints of the restraint laid upon the Cockers for preaching. I often go to the Arks but those who keep them are invisible to me."

Col. Grahme had probably less difficulty in avoiding trouble from his Jacobite proclivities in Westmorland than in most other parts,† as from many local letters the new government does not seem to have been very popular in the north. Hugh James writes from Levens to Grahme in 1693 "Col.

* See note page 14.

† Lancashire and adjoining districts were the chief strongholds of the Jacobite party (see Macaulay's History, vol. viii.)

Levestone's regiment of dragoons came into Kendal, they had been hectoring at Sizergh;" a few days later "they are yet very civil, I hope they will offer no ill thing to the Park;" again the following year "to-day a Dutch troop has come to quarter in Kendal, I hope they may be civil, but they shall not have one pile of hay from me unless they take it by force."

The Grahmes were certainly very popular in Kendal in spite of their troubles with the government.

Timothy Banks writes to the Colonel very few years after he had been in prison on suspicion of treason, that Sir Richard Sandford and Dr. Fleming, having come to Kendal to "make interest" for the election, when Fleming asked the freeholders to shout "a Sandford and a Fleming," they almost all shouted "a Grahme and a Musgrave." This was on the occasion of the County Election, in December 1701, when Grahme's son was elected, Sir Christopner Musgrave, his friend, was on that occasion defeated, getting 528 votes. Henry Grahme got 584, and was returned with Sir R. Sandford, who headed the poll with 652 votes. The number of electors who voted being probably about 1154.*

Musgrave, like most Westmorland gentlemen at that time, had friends in the Stuart cause, and a letter from Mr. Banks during the previous election speaks of it being reported in the County that "his friend Archdeacon Nicolson had been committed for treason."

In those days elections in Westmorland were fought out more between the representatives of the rival houses of Lowther and Tufton than between Whigs and Tories.

The Levens papers supply much that is interesting about the Parliamentary representation of the county and Appleby. Other local affairs are also noticed at considerable length, and the works executed by Colonel Grahme in the old house and especially the gardens at Levens, are fully described in a series of letters extending over several years,

* That is to say, the four candidates contesting the two seats got 2,308 votes between them. The following year 2,006 votes were polled; and in May, 1708, 2,403 votes were polled for three candidates; Daniel Wilson and James Grahme being the successful ones (*From old Poll Books at Levens*).

The Westmorland Election of 1701 was an important one (see Macaulay's *History*, vol. viii.)

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extracts from which, referring to Beaumont,* Colonel Grahme's gardener, and his works, are given by Mr. Weston in his admirable little *History of Levens Hall*.†

These gardens, which remain in their original state, and are vividly described in Lord Stanhope's *History of England*,‡ as being the best existing specimen of their style in this country, were Colonel Grahme's principal improvement to the old hall he had bought from the Bellinghams; but it seems probable that some of the yews and perhaps a smaller garden had existed before the arrival of M. Beaumont; as in a plan of the house and gardens, which is remarkably accurate, and was taken not more than twenty years after Beaumont's improvements, the largest yew summer house, clipped in the shape of a wig, and adorned with a portrait of a gentleman (said to be Colonel Grahme), was then a large and high feature of the garden, which evidently must have been planted before Beaumont's time, unless the drawing should be wrong.

Several of the old bowls also which are still used on the bowling green have the Bellingham crest upon them in addition to one or more pairs of James Grahme's and Lord Thanet's, but what the extent or style of the Levens garden was before M.

* His picture on the staircase at Levens, apparently Dutch, has the following inscription on it: "M. Beaumont, gardener to King James II. and Col. James Grahme. He laid out the gardens at Hampton Court and at Levens."

The gardener's house is still called "Beaumont Hall."

† Published by Atkinson and Pollitt, Kendal.

‡ Stanhope's *history of England*, vol. v. p. 500. "The progress of good taste in England during the last hundred years has been in nothing more signally shown than in gardens and pleasure grounds. There is a striking remark of Lord Bacon on the subject: 'Further, a man shall see that when ages advance in civility and politeness, men come to build stately sooner than to garden finely, as if gardening was the greater perfection;' yet Bacon himself may be considered to afford an instance of the inferior taste which he commemorates, when in his *Essay on Gardens*, he goes on to recommend for his model, a perfect square, intersected by trimmed hedges. Later in his century, the examples of France and Holland led us to still more fantastic ornaments, and still more formal symmetry; but the early years of George III. beheld a great reaction. So complete has it proved that at present throughout the whole of England there remains perhaps scarcely more than one private garden presenting in all its parts an entire and true sample of the old designs, this is at the fine old seat of Levens near Kendal.

"There along a wide extent of terraced walks and walls, eagles of holly and peacocks of yew still find with each returning summer their wings clipped and their talons pared. There, a stately remnant of the old promenairs—such as the Frenchmen taught our fathers, rather I would say to build than plant—along which in days of old, stalked the gentlemen with periwigs and swords, the ladies in hoops and furbelows—may still to this day be seen."

Beaumont took it in hand, is not easy to gather from the records of his alterations.*

Beaumont's enlargement and laying out of the gardens in the stiff "topiary" style then in fashion was almost all that Colonel Grahme did at Levens, the house being left very much the same as it had been under the Bellinghams, who had altered and decorated the interior in the Elizabethan style, with the exception of the large staircase in the hall, and other minor alterations which are noticed by Mr. Weston in his history as being Grahme's work. The outside appearance of the house at the present day, when compared with its accurate representation in the plan alluded to above, shows us that the main building has in no way changed in appearance since it was the scene of the plottings and more or less treasonable proceedings of the Grahmes, and their Jacobite friends. The general state of the country round in those days may be inferred by a single extract from a letter from Sir E. Seymour to Colonel Grahme in 1706 "I am informed," he writes "that there is no passage for a coach to Whitehaven by Levens, a worser country for people and travellers I never met withall."

When Alan Bellingham sold Levens, he was at the time member for Westmorland. Fifteen years later Henry Grahme, whose career has already been alluded to, was returned for the county in two short-lived parliaments, he was displaced by Sir Christopher Musgrave, but re-elected in 1705; two years afterwards he was succeeded by his father who had sat for Appleby in the parliaments of 1702, 1705, and 1707. Colonel Grahme was elected as one of the Knights of the Shire for Westmorland in the parliaments chosen in the

* Extracts from Alan Bellingham's diary at Levens (the original being at Castle Bellingham in Ireland), make frequent allusions to their games of bowls, generally after dinner, also to shooting fat bucks in the park and "hunting an outlyer and bringing him into the park," and killing him "after seeing excellent sporte both by land and water."

Levens Park is one of the oldest deer parks in England, still existing as such; being the only one left of fifteen parks which were round Kendal in the sixteenth century. (Leland's "Itinerary," Saxton's map, 1576).

It was originally enclosed by licence in the 34th year of Edward III., (1360) at which time Matthew de Redman (who represented Westmorland in Parliament in 1357), owned Levens (Cal. Pat. Rolls).

The acreage for which the licence to impark was granted in 1360 is almost the same as the present acreage of the park (1886) with the addition of the fields on the south of the oak avenue, round which however the ancient park fence is distinctly traceable.

years 1708, 1710, 1713, 1714 and 1722, and there is much interesting correspondence relating to the elections and the state of feeling in Westmorland in those days, for which there is not room in this paper except by way of passing allusion: thus in 1700 Grahme, writing to a freeholder to clear himself and his son from aspersions on their religion, is very indignant at the late Lord Lonsdale for recommending his uncle as a member, saying "I never heard tha Knights of the Shire were disposed of by will; he also is angry with Lord Carlisle who favors Major Lowther, saying "it is a new thing for any man who has no lands in a new country to concern himself in elections there."

In the same year Henry Grahme writes to a freeholder in Westmorland "I do not intend to offer myself for any place but the county, I persist in my resolution, tho' I was not born at Lowther nor ever had the honor to be a Major of Trainbands." Lord Thanet supported Henry Grahme who was returned, he also supported his father two years later when he was returned for Appleby. Timothy Banks, the steward, writes to Colonel Grahme announcing his son's election and adds "he would have lost it entirely but for Lord Thanet's interest," and soon after writing from Kendal. he expresses the desire of the Kendal weavers that Colonel Grahme should promote a petition to parliament from the corporation, reminding him how heartily the Kendal corporation had supported his son in his election, the petition being that the law with regard to persons not being allowed to set up any trade without having served seven years apprenticeship should be repealed. In 1704 when Henry Grahme was again standing for the county, John Brougham writes to his father "I hope Kendal will prove true . . . , I have asked the freeholders to give one vote to Mr. Grahme and reserve the other for the present. Mr. Lowther has been to Kendal to make interest." Six years later, when Colonel Grahme was representing Westmorland in parliament, John Brougham writes to him "your vote for the Doctor (Sacheverell)* has

* Dr. Sacheverell, a political clergyman, was tried at the bar of the House of Lords for preaching a sermon warning the people of danger to the church; he was forbidden to preach for three years, and became a popular hero and martyr, eventually reaping large benefits from the public excitement he had stirred up.

made even your enemies your friends, and your health is the first drunk in all companies in Cumberland and Westmorland," another letter expressing the satisfaction of his constituents on the same subject is from Allan Wilson. In 1717 a letter from Appleby tells Grahme that he was elected to the office of Mayor by a great majority "in spite of the Castle and Mr. Hall" the same correspondent informs him that the Duke of Wharton heartily recommended him to the electors at a banquet given by the Duke at Appleby.*

This was before the last election in which Colonel Grahme was returned to parliament for his county.

A letter from one Richard Braithwaite to him at this time gives some insight into local affairs in Westmorland, Braithwaite had not been well treated by the Lowthers and writes "Injustice of accusations. Lord Lonsdale's father would not have made so great a figure in life if I had not largely contributed to it. At the time of the Revolution, Sir John Lowther wrote a tragical letter to me late one night, saying that the disbanded Irish were coming upon us, and desiring me to meet him at Orton the next morning. I marched to that place with about five hundred horse and foot, and so to Kendal, while Sir John was at Kirkby Lonsdale. So again at the regulation of the coin [in 1696], the mob at Kendal threatened to burn Lowther, which put him in a great fright. I then joined him at Rownthwaite with above two hundred horse to suppress the mob, he having not above forty."

With regard to the riots in 1696 above mentioned, Timothy Banks writing to Grahme says the rioters came to Sizergh and Levens, and at the latter place his wife gave them five shillings, a cheese, and a great quantity of bread; they did no harm, but on their return to Kendal abused the Mayor and knocked down the Recorder. He writes soon after concerning them, confirming Braithwaite's letter above mentioned written twenty-five years later.

"Lord Lonsdale did not leave his own house until he had been to Kendal, and he had no disturbance. On Friday last

* There is a letter from nine townspeople of Appleby to James Grahme, thanking him for the "vessels of sanctuary" presented by him to their church in 1705.

the horse met him at Rownthwaite, and guarded him to Kendal, where Sir Daniel Fleming met him with his company of foot. They examined the prisoners, who said that they had not 30s. among them. They laid the blame on some mercers who had among themselves proposed to take shillings in trade at 10*d.*, 9*d.*, or 8*d.* apiece, according to size. Some tradesmen are bound over to sessions for taking shillings at 10*d.* and paying the same at 12*d.* apiece. The mob owned they would have gone to Lowther and Rydal. Nine of the ringleaders were sent to Appleby under a strong guard. The Deputy Lieutenants recommended people to take and pay "narrow money" by weight at 5*s.* 2*d.*, per oz. Now we are quiet."

More letters follow complaining of the bad times, in one of which he says (in September 1696), "Money is every day worse and worse. There is not a farthing to be had. About three weeks ago sixpences with a ring on, and shillings with some letters on, would have gone, but if ever shears have been on either they will not. Men cannot sell their beasts for ready money." The reader will observe how little change two centuries make at Levens, for the steward is still Mr. Banks, and still (1886) writes to the owner that "men cannot sell their beasts for ready money."

Those who know the place may be interested in a letter from Timothy Banks dated a few days before Christmas 1703, describing a fire at Levens, by which the old house narrowly escaped destruction "your honour will receive by this post severall letters about the sad and sudden accident wch fell out at Levens on Tuesday morning last, I must say it was theg reatest mercy that my lady and the young ladies (Catherine, afterwards Lady Berkshire, and Mary Grahme) were not burnt in their beds, as to the particulars of how much was burnt—both the kitchings, the larder, my lady's closets, her chamber, and the room where the linen was laid were burnt downe and the halfe of Mrs. Sarah's chamber was broken down to save the fire from going further into the staircase, there were two great beames that lay over the furthest kitching that were burnt to pieces, when you see it you will wonder the house was not on fire before, ffor in the

room where Mrs. Sarah lay that chimney was built upon wood, and now it discovers that the piece of timber that lay under the hearth was burnt quite through before now we saved the bookes and papers in your Honours closet. I believe that none will be wanting. The accident was sad and molancholy, but certainly a great mercie that any in the house was saved. The fire was extinguished with the greatest industry and care that could be in this country, and the damage only the two Kitchings and the Larder betwixt, and the roomes over 'em burnt to the ground. When you see I am confident you will be well pleased that there was no greater destruction. I bless God my Lady and younge Ladies are in good health and hearty; only my Lady hurte her ancle in the fire, but I thank God she is pretty well of it againe."

There are some interesting letters at Levens to Colonel Grahme from his nephew Metcalfe, (who had been first in the navy and later was aide-de-camp to the Duke of Marlborough), on the subject of Marlborough's campaigns; one describing the battle of Blenheim is as follows :

"After a hot dispute we have obtained an entire victory. We have taken twenty-seven battalions of foot and twelve squadrons of dagoons, besides other prisoners.* The French are weaker by this battle by 30,000 men. What makes the victory more glorious is our passing to attack them with two rivulets in their front and a strong village on each flank. Their army was twenty battalions stronger than ours and only thirty squadrons weaker. M. Tallard declared that if they durst confide upon their intelligence that Prince Lewis was left to besiege Ingoldstadt, they would have fallen upon us in our camp the day before. Lord Marlborough sent for me two days after this business, and told me that he had taken notice of me all day, took me by the hand, and promised to take care of me as long as he lived. I serve as aide-de-camp to General Lumley,"

A few months before the battle, Robert Harley† writing to

* August 13, 1704, the French were defeated with a loss about 27,000 killed and 13,000 prisoners, including Marshal Tallard then commander.

† Robert Harley was a Secretary of State, and one of the most powerful leaders in the House of Commons (Macaulay's History, vol. viii., p. 165). He was afterwards Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer.

Grahme had said: "You may well call me a new courtier. I shall scarce ever attain to be an old one unless I have the favour of some of your precepts. Orders have been given to the Lord Keeper to remove Fleming. The Duke of Marlborough's march is the only thing to save the empire. Whether Prince Lewis of Baden will fight, or have the gout, a few days will show."

Another account of Blenheim is from the Earl of Peterborough, who writes: "My son, Lord Mordaunt, was wounded in the battle. Such a rout was never heard of. It happened by the impatience of our men. The soldiers in the second line would have their share of fighting, and their officers could not hinder them from running up into the intervals of the first line. This obliged the French to do the same, and made it such a confused fight that there could be no regular retreat. Thirty squadrons of the *gens d'armes* of the household and best horse of France were forced into the Danube, and hardly any were saved. Twenty-six battalions taken prisoners, and twelve squadrons of dragoons, fourteen general officers, and twelve hundred others. Sir Christopher Musgrave and I 'were not always of opinion,' but there was so much of the sturdy Englishman in him that I always wished him well."

Metcalfe Grahme writes to his uncle at Levens two years after, describing the battle of Ramillies. The letter is written from the camp at Arselle, and dated a fortnight after the day on which the fight took place, and is to the following effect: "Our successes are beyond imagination. A large country has fallen to us in consequence of one battle. Never was victory more easily got, or better followed. They stayed not long enough to make the slaughter great, but the closeness of the pursuit has made amends. Yesterday the Duke had a letter from the King of Spain, saying that their fleet disappeared at the approach of ours. The marshal retired with so much precipitation that he left all his sick and wounded, 120 cannon, 40 mortars, 4,000 barrels of powder, 15,000 sacks of corn, and other provisions for four months. According to several letters the Duke of Anjon is at Perpignan. My Lord is very civil, but it is hard to make one's fortune by so cowardly an enemy, for we have no vacancies made by the

battle in the English horse. We have detached to take Antwerp."

In after years the Duke of Marlborough was widely accused of making his own fortune by vacancies amongst his officers not by promotion, as Metcalfe Grahme means in his letter, but by allowing unnecessary losses to occur among officers in order to be enabled to sell their commissions. Lord Powlett brought this no doubt unjust accusation publicly against him in 1712, and was in consequence challenged by the Duke, but the duel was prevented. At Malplaquet, the last and most bloody battle of the campaign, Metcalfe Grahme served as aide-de-camp to Marlborough. He brought home the despatches announcing the victory, amongst them being a letter to the High Treasurer Lord Godolphin, his uncle's friend and frequent correspondent, written by the Duke on the day of the battle, and speaking highly of his services.* Soon after the battle of Ramilies, Henry St. John, afterwards Viscount Bolingbroke, and perhaps, with the exception of Marlborough, the greatest Englishman of his time, writes two interesting letters to Colonel Grahme. He was at the time Secretary at War in Lord Godolphin's administration.

"A peace may be made," he writes "and more leisure fall to my share, or I may happen to fall on the slippery ground of a court, and roll down to this quiet place (Bucklebury). In either case my horses and my dogs will help me to pass most of the time which I can spare from the offices of friendship."

Bucklebury, generally spelled Bucklersbury, was his father-in-law's place in Berkshire. In another letter a fortnight later he says:

"My stable is my great diversion in the country, and in the midst of business Bucklebury runs in my head. We stand on slippery ground, and I will fall soft whenever it comes to

* I have not strength to do anything but that of letting you know we have had this day a very murdering battle Mr. Grahme, the bearer, is a very brave young man, and one of my aide-de-camps. He will give you an account of the action, and I think you should give him 500 pounds." (Dated, Sept. 11, 1709). *Correspondence of John, Duke of Marlborough*. Pub. Colburn, 1838.

my lot to tumble. I keep you before my eyes. You have been a courtier, and are a northern country gentleman."

St. John was a consistent Jacobite, and had already given promise of the talents which were destined to make his name famous in history both as an author and a politician. Two years later he was left out of Parliament, and retired for a time from political life. The view he took of his rejection can be gathered from the following characteristic expressions in a letter he writes at the time to Grahme.

"My being left out of Parliament is of very small moment to the public, and no great misfortune to me. After I had resolved not to appear at my own borough, I did all I could to get myself elected at some other place, but found it utterly impossible. Those whom it is my inclination and my principle to serve have left me out, and I conclude that they do not want me. I shall have three years time to live to myself, which is a blessing I never yet enjoyed. If I live to another Parliament, I will be elected without an obligation to anybody but the people who choose. This must be *inter nos*, for I have not opened my mind to any creature upon this head." Again in the following year :

"The character you give of the age and court is so true that it serves as another consideration to take off the edge of my ambition. After all this, it is no part of my scheme, whenever the service of my country or of any particular friend calls me forth, to sit still. I hope and promise myself that on any such occasion I should exert some vigour and make no despicable figure."

He was not destined to remain long in idleness. In 1710 the affair of Sacheverell had shown there to be such a strong Tory feeling in the country, that the Queen's secret advisers of that party persuaded her to dissolve Parliament. A Tory majority was returned, and the leading Whigs deprived of their offices.

St. John became Secretary of State and a leader of his party with Harley, who was created Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer ; Lord Godolphin was roughly dismissed from his office,* on which Secretary Bromley writes to Grahme :

* "Bolingbroke," by Harrop. Pub. Kegan Paul (p. 60).

"The laying aside 'Sir William' (*i.e.*, the Earl of Godolphin) was a *coup-de-maitre*, and the manner of doing it seems very dexterous. The [Queen] writes him a letter, and orders him to break his staff. He desired leave to see her, and deliver up his staff in person, but this was refused."

Lord Barnard writes from Raby Castle on the same subject. "I long to hear how the Duke of Marlborough and the army received the news of the fall of the Treasurer. Letters speak of great animosity between the General and the Duke of Argyle, and that the latter was confined to his tent for striking Mr. Cardenall."

The Duke of Marlborough was now in high disfavour; his son-in-law Lord Sunderland was dismissed from office, and the new ministers were his enemies. A vote of censure was passed on him by the House of Commons, and he was accused of various crimes, amongst them with conniving at the murder of the Duke of Hamilton, the particulars of which have already been alluded to. He left the country in disgrace, to return however in triumph on the death of Queen Anne, on which occasion Metcalfe Grahme writes to the Colonel.

"The Duke of Marlborough came in yesterday with all pomp imaginable. The City gave him guards. He wants to see you mightily. The Duchess bids me tell you that while she breathes she will be your friend, for your kindness to them and to Lord Godolphin."

The latter had not long survived his abrupt dismissal from office at the Queen's hands.

St. John, now Viscount Bolingbroke, was at the height of his power. He had written to Grahme from Whitehall in the last year of Anne's reign.

"Observe from whence this epistle is dated, and let old images rise in your thoughts. I will not presume to say you will find here a court or ministry like those you have known, but I am much mistaken if you do not like us better than when you saw us last. I have said a little to Lord Berkshire about the present state of affairs, as much as a letter will bear. The Queen is well, though the Whigs give out that she is, what they wish her, 'a percher.' Come up and make her well in all respects. It is two o'clock in the morning, and I am ready to drop off my chair with fatigue."

The Queen being a "percher" meant that she was going to die, an event eagerly awaited by the Whigs; the same expressions occurs in other letters of the time.

Bolingbroke knew that as a Tory and a Jacobite his position was becoming insecure. He had written some years before that he "might fall on the slippery ground of a court," and the two letters to Grahme on this subject are very interesting when read under the light of his subsequent career. He proposes in the event of political troubles overtaking him, to follow the Colonel's example, in retiring to the country and devoting himself entirely to the life of a country gentleman. Seven years later the fall he predicts comes to him, and as soon as he is able to return in safety to England, he literally carries out his project.

The first act of George the First on his accession was to dismiss Bolingbroke from office in the most insulting way possible. He was then impeached, and a Bill of Attainder passed against him, together with the Earl of Oxford and the Duke of Ormond. Oxford was sent to the Tower, but Bolingbroke and Ormond escaped to the Continent, where the former remained in exile for many years. In 1725 he was restored to a part of his estates, having been previously pardoned, when his first act was to buy a place in the country,^{*} where he gave himself up for a time entirely to the life he had proposed to himself in his letter twenty years before. He had inscribed over the entrance to his house the motto, *Satis beatus ruris honoribus*, and combined the life of an amateur farmer with the society of the most eminent poets and authors of the day, amongst whom were Voltaire, Pope, and Swift.[†]

We have seen from several covert allusions in his correspondence, that Grahme's skill as a courtier, and his cleverness in avoiding the troubles that overtook most of his Jacobite friends, were well known. He seems to have remained on good terms with each successive sovereign in whose reign he lived, beginning with Charles, and ending with George the Second. He lived in a time when men changed their political views, either to keep in power or to keep their heads on, with

^{*} Dawley, near Uxbridge, in Middlesex.

[†] Harrop's "Bolingbroke."

a facility hardly equalled by modern statesmen, who however have only the former temptation to resist. His brother, Lord Preston, had only escaped execution by confessing at the last moment, and implicating several fellow Jacobites; and James Grahme after he had been hunted about, proclaimed and imprisoned for his connection with the dethroned King, does not seem to have been very particular how he should get into the good graces of William. A long letter from Lord Nottingham to the King, chiefly about Grahme, gives the latter's plausible reasons for promising to take the oath of allegiance, and be a loyal subject. Grahme is also said to offer to disclose information connected with his party in France, though he declines to mention names. Lord Nottingham hints to the King that his professions of loyalty are not to be trusted, and there is not the slightest evidence to show that he ever really betrayed anything of importance connected with the Stuart cause.* We know also that he was more than once in danger of being tried for high treason, after these promises had been written to William; but after his last release from prison, and his retirement on his brother's advice to Levens, Colonel Grahme appears to have carefully avoided compromising himself in any of the numerous Jacobite plots which were made, and as regularly failed, during the remainder of his life.

There are no political letters amongst his correspondence of the two memorable years which saw the Pretender's disastrous attempt for the Crown suppressed in Scotland; one result of which was the execution of Lord Derwentwater, whose mother it will be remembered, had been married to Henry

* Lord Nottingham to King William, July 15, 1690. "I think it my duty to acquaint your majesty with some information I have lately had from persons that are privy to all matters relating to the interests of the late king, as your majesty will easily believe when I tell you that they are my Lady Dorchester and Mr. James Grahme. The latter will now take the oaths of fidelity, and gives me this reason for it: that though he has done all he could to serve King James, yet since there is now no further possibility of doing him any good, but the quarrel is now more immediately between England and France, he will behave himself as becomes a true lover of his country, and a faithful subject of your majesty, etc., etc. This is what he says, but I guess that the taking of oaths being necessary to entitle him to your majesty's general pardon, this is at least one motive to induce him to his present resolution. He says he will never be an evidence, nor name any persons, but promises to tell anything he hears about French designs." *Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs*. Appendix.

Grahme. If he was interested in the rebellion, Grahme no doubt destroyed all written traces of it, as it would seem he had done with any of Lord Preston's letters he may have had, not one of which are found amongst his papers, though there is abundant evidence elsewhere that the brothers were on intimate terms and corresponded frequently.

In 1722 James Grahme was returned to Parliament for the last time, being then past seventy; the elections that year were the cause of terrible riots all over the country, especially at Coventry*, concerning which William Bromley writes to him: "The election at Coventry began on Tuesday, when there were polled about one hundred for Sir Oughton and Neale, and six for Craven and Skipwith. There were about a thousand voters in the street, when, upon pretence of adjourning for an hour, the former with the magistrates carried away the sheriffs. They would not suffer any but their own creatures to come near them—not even their wives—kept them up all night, and would not let them go until they had forced them to make a return, which was not signified to the freemen till all was over. The sheriffs were two poor scoundrels, but they durst not trust them. Oughton had brought all the freemen serving in the troops in Great Britain and Ireland, and living in Chelsea Hospital, to the election, and they appeared in their regimental clothes and swords."

At this time the greatest financial panic that England has ever seen, had succeeded a mania for speculation. The South Sea Company had been started by Harley, and supported by Stanhope, Sunderland, and other ministers. It was followed by other bubble companies, and the whole country went mad over the most ridiculous investments, resulting in the ruin of thousands. Stanhope, the leader of the government, died from a fit of apoplexy, said to have been brought on by defending his share of the matter in parliament; Lord Sunderland died the following year, and Bromley writes to Grahme concerning his death:—

"My letters yesterday put me into a quandary, upon hearing

* See "Caricature History of the Georges." Wright (ch. ii). Pub. John Camden Hotten.

of your friend's perch (*i.e.*, the death of the Earl of Sunderland). I could not reconcile his actions with his professions."

In another, he writes: "I do not believe that any of my friends rejoice at the late 'perch,' though I am told that others have shown very indecent joy. I am surprised at the treatment of him (the Earl of Sunderland) by those in power. It is said that the Duchess of M[arlborough] sealed up his *escritoire*, that some of the ministers came soon after, broke it open, and carried away all his papers. Had he been charged with the most heinous capital crimes, they could not have done more."

Another letter on the same subject, with which was connected a Jacobite plot, is from Johnstone, who had been Secretary of State for Scotland, a son of Archibald Johnstone of Warristone, one of Cromwell's peers, who was executed after the Restoration. The Jacobites were supposed to have considered the confusion occasioned by the South Sea Bubble to have given them a good opportunity for a rising. The Tories denied the existence of any real plot, and made a great outcry when Bishop Atterbury was committed to the Tower for his share in it. Several people were arrested, and some were hung; Atterbury was exiled after a long imprisonment. The general purport of Johnstone's letter is as follows:

"I find our late friend [the Earl of Sunderland] defamed all over the town, first for having got so much by the South Sea, and next for having (as they say his papers show) had a correspondence with the Pretender. His will was made when he thought himself rich, whereas there will remain As to the other point, there is nothing in it, and the falsehood of what is pretended will be made clear. Without hanging, nobody will believe in the plot, but assassinations were proposed. It was also proposed to burn the books of three companies, for destroying paper credit, which would have been construed to have been done by the Government. Next a rising was resolved on, and the Duke of Ormond had agreed to come over. The chief instruments are known, but the evidence is not sufficient to hang them. Without this, all will pass for a sham."

He writes again shortly after: "The plot is now believed to be nothing, but the Duke of Ormond was certainly to

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CHIMNEY IN LIBRARY.
AT LEVENS HALL.

have come. Credit revives. The Bank and the South Sea Directors are agreed. Mr. Walpole does his best to recover credit."

In connection with this plot, there is at Levens a copy of the warrant from the Privy Council to the Lord Lieutenant and Deputy Lieutenants (including Grahme), to seize the arms of all papists and non-jurors in Westmorland and Cumberland, "in consequence of a conspiracy for raising a rebellion in favour of a Popish Pretender."

Colonel Grahme does not appear to have lived at Levens much after he ceased to be member for Westmorland. When in London, his letters were addressed to him at "Mr. Hugh James' House in Berkeley Street, near Berkeley House," but for many years before his death he had his own house "in Stratton Street, near Devonshire House." There is no record of his retaining possession of the Lodge at Bagshot after the eighteenth century had commenced.

His wife Dorothy, of whom Evelyn speaks on several occasions in terms of the highest praise, had died in the last year of William's reign; and Colonel Grahme had married a second time, and again become a widower before the end of 1709. His second wife, by whom he had no children, was Elizabeth Harvey, a sister of his colleague as member for Appleby in 1705 and 1707. He seems to have kept this second marriage a secret from some of his most intimate friends, though it does not appear for what reason. Lord Weymouth writes to him in 1703, "were not your marriage of soe old a date, I would wishe you ye happiness you have long enjoyed. You will please to assure Yr Lady I am much her servant, for- soe I was before she was yours. My wife designs to write to her." Lord Peterborough writes, after her death in 1709, "I have lost one that had a partiality to me from my youth, and was ever sensible of her goodness."

In the latter years of his life he seems to have lived a good deal at Charlton, Lord Berkshire's seat in Suffolk, where there still remains a collection of pictures which belonged to James II., including himself when young as Lord High Admiral, and a number of "court beauties" by Lely, and members of the Stuart family. These pictures were entrusted to the care of Grahme by William the Third.

From the Levens papers it appears that Grahme took possession of many valuables which James left behind him in the hurry of his flight, and there is evidence to show that these were gradually disposed of according to instructions given by the exiled monarch, either to meet Royal expenses, or for repayment of sums he owed Grahme, who had assisted him with money when he left England.

There is at Levens a list of the plate belonging to the King's "privy lodgings," with his order for its surrender to Grahme and the latter's receipt.

In the King's letter to Chiffinch, already quoted, it will be remembered that Grahme was to take the plate and other articles from the Royal apartments with the exception of pictures. Soon after the Revolution, a number of packages containing these pictures were transmitted to Grahme by order of William the Third. They seem to have remained for some time at the Colonel's house in London, and then to have gone to Charlton, where they remained packed up for a hundred years, till the late Lord Suffolk and Berkshire, who was then fitting up the picture gallery at Charlton, unpacked them and placed them in it.*

An old chest known to have belonged to James II, with the Royal crown on it, also preserved at Charlton, may very possibly be one of the "strong boxes" mentioned by the King in the same letter to Chiffinch.

Grahme remained to the last on good terms with the court, the Duke of Montrose writing to him in 1725, "I have obeyed your commands in making your compliments to the King which were very well received; he was pleased to enquire particularly after you, and regrets that you could not come to St. James'."

His later letters allude sadly to his ruined fortunes,† but

* "History of Charlton" in "Ashted, and its Howard possessors." By Rev. F. Paget. Privately printed.

† The following letter from Grahme is characteristic. To whom it was addressed does not appear. "I find, my good Lord, by what Mr. Harley told me yesterday, yr Lordshp. hath me more in your thoughts than I expected: but how or why you should think I would go about to injure you doth surprize me. I very plainly and truly acquainted you with my circumstances in the beginning of this reign. Whatever I have acted in any place since, was in my opinion for the Queen's service. My familie, since the reign of K. James ye first, hath still in the place, where (we), are established, had interest, which was ever displayed for the service

the applications for assistance from his family and from old political friends, who had likewise suffered from the downfall of the Stuarts are numberless; and most liberally did James Grahme in many instances respond to them, though he himself had been a heavy sufferer by the Revolution and his devotion to King James' cause.

His only living child and heiress had married her first cousin, Henry Howard, fourth Earl of Berkshire,* who succeeded him at Levens, and three of whose children, including his eldest son Lord Andover, Colonel Grahme outlived.

The next brother who became Lord Andover was killed out hunting during his father's lifetime, and his widow lived at Levens till she was succeeded by Frances Howard, her only surviving child, who had married Richard Bagot, a son of Sir Walter Bagot, of Blithfield, in Staffordshire, and brother to the first Lord Bagot. He assumed the name of Howard on his marriage with the heiress, who in addition to Levens had inherited the estates of Castle Rising in Norfolk, Ashted in Surrey, and Elford, in Staffordshire.

On his death Levens passed to his only child the late Hon. Mary Greville Howard, the third heiress within the century, to whose liberality in building and endowing churches, schools and charitable institutions, Westmorland owes much.

Colonel Grahme died in 1730, in his eighty-first year.

In his will, dated 1723, which is amongst the Levens papers, he desires to be buried "at Heversham in Westmorland, modestly, decently, and very privately," bequeathing a hundred pounds to the poor there.

He was however buried at Charlton, in accordance with his later wishes, expressed in a letter written to his daughter

off the crown, and hath had their share off the good and bad in all times. If by the discountenance we now have the hands that interest will fall into, grow better subjects (*sic*), I shall not soe much regret my misfortune, but shall ever think it a great one to lose the protection of so great and good a friend. I will now endeavour, out of the remains of my ruined fortune, to be as easie as I can—doing what becomes me, and wishing the Queen and nation ease and peace; and that she and you may not be disappointed in the affection of yr new friends, always wishing particularly to yourself all the good imaginable.

Being, very truly, my Lord, etc., J. GRAHME."

* He was appointed Deputy Earl Marshal during the civil incapacity of the Duke of Norfolk in 1718; and in 1745 succeeded to the Earldom of Suffolk.

Catherine, in September 1729, a few months before his death. "My dear child," he writes, "I hope when I dye your Lord will allow me to be buried amongst my little ones at Charlton. If I dye there send to the Bath for a leaden coffin. I will have no hearse, but be carried by my own and your servants, . . . all what is in my will observe and do it, which is not much. Thank you for all your goodness to me. God bless you and your Lord and all the Children.

Your affectionate father,

J. GRAHME.

Do what you can of kindness to my servants (who) have been carefull of me. God bless you and yours.

J. GRAHME."

A tablet to his memory in Charlton Church describes him as

Servant to King Charles
And King James the Second.
Lived and Died an unworthy
But True Member of the Church of England.
Faithful to both his Masters,
And a sincere lover of Monarchy.



APPENDIX.

Since the preceding pages were printed, the author has found that Colonel Grahme represented Carlisle in the only Parliament of the reign of James II. ; a fact to which there appears to be no reference in the Levens papers. The great silver-gilt mace which is now carried before the Mayor of Carlisle was his present to the Corporation, and the following autograph letter relative to the presentation, was exhibited lately before the Society of Antiquaries, by Mr. R. S. Ferguson, to whom the author is indebted for its reproduction.

“ 16th Feb.

“ Sir,—Yours I received, by which I understand that the Mace is arrived, and that you expect my coming to towne to present it. I think it will not be at all necessary having already acquainted the towne with what ye Privy Privy [*sic*] intended, and if you please to direct the towne to make a kind returne for this noble present, and order the Mace as you think fitt, what you do herein will be approved of by,

“ Sr, your humble servt,

“ GEO. FLETCHER.

“ If the towne in their letter take notice
that I presented the Mace to them,
it will show him that I preserv'd
his orders.

“ For Basil Fielding, Esquire, at Carlisle.”

Endorsed: “ Sir Geo. Fletcher's letter about the Mace, feb. '85.”

The Corporation's letter of thanks is as follows:—

“ Carlisle, feb 22, 1685.

“ Worthy Sr,—The honour and favour you have done our Corporacon in Representing us in Parliamt is a thing we will alwayes be ready to acknowledge, nor must we forget your

former charity to the poor Inhabitants of this place, besides other instances of your respect and kindnesse: But yor Great Bounty now showne to this City in honouring it with the Noble Present of an extraordinary large and Rich Mace, wch hath been delivered to us by Sr Geo. Fletcher, is soe surprising that we cant be sensible enough of it, and as this is a cleare indication of ye great regard you have as well for the honor as interest of the Corporacon, soe we will ever study to make all suitable returns and charge it as a debt of Gratitude upon ourselves and our Successor, wch wee hope you will believe, since we are in soe great a degree

"Yor most and obliged servants."

Endorsed: "Copy of ye Lre sent to Coll. Grahme, ffeb. 22 '85. Thanks for ye Mace."

Sir George Fletcher represented Cumberland for nearly forty years—from 1661 to 1700.

Before he was appointed Privy Purse to James Duke of York, Grahme held for a short time the same office in the household of the Duchess, who had been Mary of Modena.

In the freedom of the City of Edinburgh, presented to him in December, 1679, which document is at Levens, he is described as "Keeper of the Privy Purse of the Duchess of Albany and York."

In the freedoms of Stirling and Linlithgow, dated February, 1681, he is described as Privy Purse to the Duke of Albany. His appointment to the same office by James II., is dated April 1685.

There are at Levens no less than seven commissions to James Grahme between the years 1671 and 1677—six to be Captain, and one to be Lieutenant-Colonel—all in different regiments.

A certificate of admission to James Grahme as Master of the Harthounds and Buckhounds, signed by the Earl of Arlington, with seal affixed, is also at Levens; and amongst the papers at Charlton is a warrant of appointment to "James Grahme, Master of his Ma^{ty}s Buckhounds" to be deputy Lieutenant of Windsor Castle and Forest, signed by the Duke of Norfolk, Constable of Windsor Castle. Both are dated in the first year of James II.

The following is the list of presents given by James when he left England, alluded to on p. 8.

To the Taylors men	-	-	£05	07	06
„ Hatters men	-	-	05	07	06
„ Periwigg makers men	-	-	05	07	06
„ Yeomen of the Guard	-	-	05	07	06
„ Postillions	-	-	02	03	00
„ Yeomen of the Cellars	-	-	03	04	06
„ Verger of the Chappell	-	-	01	01	06
„ Trumpetts	-	-	10	15	00
„ Drummers of both regiments	}	of Guards - -	10	15	00
„ of Guards					
„ Housekeeper of St. James' house	-	-	05	07	06
„ Two Master Cooks	-	-	21	10	00
„ Hunting and Pad Grooms	-	-	05	07	06
„ Gentlemen's men of the Privy	}	Gallery - -	02	03	06
„ Gallery					
„ Yeomen of the Waggon	-	-	02	03	06
„ Gentlemen Ushers and Quar-	}	ter Waiters men -	02	03	06
„ ter Waiters men					
„ Harbinger's men	-	-	01	01	06
„ Carpenters, Locksmys, Gla-	}	shiers, and other work-	05	07	06
„ shiers, and other work-					
„ men's servants belonging					
„ to the house	-	-			
„ Saddlers, Coachmakers, etc.,	}	etc., belonging to the	10	15	00
„ etc., belonging to the					
„ Stables	-	-			
„ <i>Men that take the Carts for the</i>	}	<i>Voyage</i> - -	01	01	06
„ <i>Voyage</i>					
„ Pages of the Presence	-	-	01	01	06

The above payments were in guineas. The guinea at that time being equivalent to £1 1s. 6d.

The list of the King's plate entrusted to Grahme is as follows:

Gilt Plate. 2 Gilt Basons. 2 Gilt Ewers. 2 Gilt Salads. 4 Gilt Rings. 5 prs Gilt Candlesticks. 6 Gilt Salts. 1 great Gilt Salt. 1 Gilt Peper Box. 1 Gilt Sugar Box. 1 Gilt Crewit for Oyle. 1 Gilt

Crewit for Vinegar. 1 Gilt Mustard Pot. 6 doz.
 Gilt Plates. 1 doz. & halfe Spoons. 1 doz. & halfe
 Forks. 16 Knifes Gilt. 2 Silver Basons. 2 Silver
 Ewers. 16 great Silver Dishes. 1 doz. Small
 Dishes. 15 Intermesses. 2 great Silver Bottles.
 2 Silver Salads. 1 Silver Shuger Box.

The list is docketed "An account of His Majties' Plate that is in the Privy Lodgings," and a note is appended "Jan. ye 20th, 88. I acknowledge to have received the plate in the list.—J. GRAHME."

There is also amongst James Grahme's papers at Levens, a copy of a warrant under the sign manual of Charles the Second, for the payment of an annuity of £8,600 to Louise de la Querouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth, dated October 11th, 1676.

There are also several passports for James Grahme and his servant to go to and fro between England and the Continent, between the years 1674 and 1679. Some are signed by Henry Coventry, Secretary of State, and one signed by the celebrated Marshal Turenne (alluded to on p. 3) is as follows:

"Le Vicompte de Turenne,

Mareschal General des Camps et Armées du Roi, etc."

Laissez librement passer et repasser Monsr. Grahme. Capne au Regt. d'Infanterie de Montmoth auquel nous avons permis d'aller chez lui en Angleterre pour quelques affaires qui y requierent sa presence, sans lui donner ni a ses gens, chevaux, et hardes, aucun empeschement, mais plustot toute ayde, faveur, et assistance.

Fait au camp de Detweiler, ce 3 Novembre, 1674.

TURENNE.

L.S

Par Monseigneur HARSET.

Of the same date is a paper of drill instructions, headed "Monsieur de Turenne's order for a battallion in a day of bataille."

The following is the warrant for the committal of Col. Grahme to the Fleet prison in 1696.

"These are in his Majties name to will and require you to take into your custody the body of James Grahme, Esq. herewith sent unto you for suspicion of High Treason and Treasonable practices, and him to keep in safe custody, untill he shall be discharged by due course of Law, ffor which this shall be your warrant from the Council Chamber at Whitehall, the 2nd day of March, 1695-6.

To the Warden of the Fleete
or his Deputy.

Schonberg and Leinster.

Montagu.

Bolton.
T. Bridgewater.
Stamford.

Bradford.
Ranelagh.

Tankerville.
T. Wharton.

H. Goodricke."



INDEX.

- Albany, Duchess of, Duke of, *see* Duchess, Duke, of York.
- Albemarle, Duke of, 15.
- Andover, Henry, Viscount, 35.
- , William, Viscount, *ib.*
- Annandale, Marquis, 15, 16.
- Anne, (Princess) afterwards Queen, Col. J. Grahme's politeness to her, 9.
- (Queen), 12; her dissolution of Parliament, (1710), 27; her dismissal of Lord Godolphin, 27, 28; the Whigs desired her death, 25.
- Anjou, Duke of, 25.
- Antwerp, 26.
- Appleby, 18, 21, 23, 33.
- represented in Parliament by Col. J. Grahme, 20; his benefactions to the borough, 21 $\frac{1}{2}$; he is elected Mayor, 22.
- Apprenticeship, proposal partially to dispense with it in Kendal, 21.
- Argot of Jacobite conspirators, 15-17.
- Argyle, John, 1st Duke, his dispute with the Duke of Marlborough, &c., 28.
- Arlington, Henry, 1st Earl, 38.
- Arselle, letter dated there, 25.
- 'Arthur' or 'Artlye,' cipher for James II, 13.
- Ashton, John, executed for treason [18 Jan., 1691], cipher found on him, 13.
- 'Assassination Plot,' [1696], 12.
- Atterbury, Francis, Bishop of Rochester [1662-1732], 13.
- , his Letters referred to, 14 $\frac{1}{2}$, 17.
- committed to the Tower and finally exiled, 32.
- Ashtead, 35.
- 'Ashtead, and its Howard Possessors' (Rev. F. E. Paget), referred to, 35 $\frac{1}{2}$.
- Baden, Prince Louis of, 24, 25.
- Bacon, Francis, Lord, his essay on gardens quoted, 19 $\frac{1}{2}$.
- Bagot, Richard, marries Frances Howard, 35.
- Sir Walter, *ib.*
- William, 1st Baron, *ib.*
- Bagshot, Col. James Grahme's residence there, 3, 4, 9 *bis*, 33.
- Banks, John, 23.
- 'Banks Mr.,' cipher for James II., 8, 15.
- Banks, Timothy, letters to Col. J. Grahme, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24.
- Barnard, Lord, letter to Col. J. Grahme, 28.
- Bath, 36.
- Bathurst, Sir Benjamin, 7.
- Bavaria, Duke of, 12.
- Beaumont, M., Col. J. Grahme's gardener, 19 *passim*, 20.
- Hall, Levens, 19 $\frac{1}{2}$.
- Bellingham, Alan, was Treasurer of Berwick and Deputy Warden of Marches, 1; he purchases Levens Manor, (1487), *ib.*
- , [b. 1655], M.P. for Westmorland, 3, 19, 20; sells his Westmorland estates to Col. J. Grahme, 1; his amusements, 20 $\frac{1}{2}$.
- , Sir Robert, of Burneshead, 1.
- crest on bowls at Levens Hall, 19.
- Belvoir Castle, 15, 16.
- Bentinck, Wm., 1st Earl of Portland [1649-1709], 9.
- Berge, Prince de, 12.
- Berkeley House and Street, 33.
- Berkshire, Lord, 4.
- Catherine, Countess of, letter from Col. J. Grahme, 36. *See also* Catherine Grahme.
- , Henry Howard, 4th Earl, 28, 33; m. Catherine Grahme, 5, 35; appointed Deputy Earl Marshall, 35 $\frac{1}{2}$; succeeds to Earldom of Suffolk, *ib.*
- Thomas, 1st Earl, 2.
- Berwick, Alan Bellingham Treasurer the town, 1.
- Bishops, non-juring, cipher for them, 13.
- Bishop's Room, at Levens Hall, 15.
- Blenheim, battle of, Metcalfe Grahme's description of it, 24.
- , Earl of Peterborough's description of it, 25.
- Blithfield, 35.
- Bolingbroke, Henry, 1st Viscount [1668-1751], 10, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$, 13, 26, 27; letter to Col. J. Grahme, 28; his dismissal and attainder, 92; his pardon and retirement, *ib.*
- See also* Henry St. John.

- Bolton, Duke of, 41.
 'Bonson' cipher for Louis XIV, 13.
 Boulogne, letter dated there, 8.
 Bowls at Levens with Bellingham and other crests, 19.
 Bradford,—, 41.
 Braganza, Catherine of, 2*n*.
 Braithwaite, Richard, letter to Col. J. Grahme,—his exertions in the cause of order, 22.
 Bridgewater, T., 41.
 Bromley, William, letters to Col. J. Grahme, 27, 28, 31, 32.
 Brougham, John, letters to Col. J. Grahme, 21, 22.
 Brudenell, Francis, Lord, 14, 15; cipher for his name, 13.
 Brussels, 12.
 Buckhounds, Mastership of them granted to Col. James Grahme, 3.
 Buckingham, Duchess of, 2*n*.
 Bucklebury or Bucklersbury, 26.
 Burneshead, 1.
- Cardenall, —, 28.
 'Caricature History of the Georges,' (Wright) referred to, 31*n*.
 Carlisle, Charles, Earl of, 13.
 —Earl, interferes in Westmorland election (1700), 21.
 —city represented by Col. J. Grahme in Parliament of 1684-5, 37.
 —corporation, great mace presented to them by Col. J. Grahme, 37, their thanks therefor, 37, 38.
 Carteret, Lord, 17.
 Castle Bellingham, 20*n*.
 Castlemaine, Lady, 4.
 Castle Rising, 35.
 Catherine of Braganza, 2*n*.
 'Chapman, Mr. James,' cipher for Col. J. Grahme, 14, 15.
 Charles II., 2, 2*n*, 3, 4, 29, 36; creates Sir Richard Grahme Viscount Preston, 2.
 Charlton, Col. J. Grahme's pictures there, 33, 34; his residence and burial there, 33, 35, 36; tablet to his memory in the church, 36.
 Chelsea Hospital, 6*n*, 31.
 Chiffinch, Wm., 6*n*, 7, 34 *bis*.
 Christchurch, Oxford, Col. James Grahme educated there, 3.
 Cipher used by Col. James Grahme, 13, 14.
 Clinch,—, cipher for his name, 14.
 Coinage riots in Kendal, 22, 23.
 Commemoration at Oxford (1675), attended by Dorothy Howard, 2.
 Courcy, Lord, cipher for his name, 13.
- Coventry, Henry, 40.
 Coventry, election riots in 1722, 31.
 'Crosby,' cipher for—Clinch, 14.
 Craven,—, his candidature at Coventry, 31.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 32.
 Cumberland papists and non-jurors, their arms to be seized, 33.
 —, Viscount Preston was Lr'd Lieutenant of the County, 2.
- Dalrymple, Sir John, his 'Memoirs' cited, 30*n*.
 Dartmouth, George Legge, Lord, 15.
 Davis, Mary, ('Moll,') one of Charles II.'s mistresses; her supposed ancestry; Henry Grahme marries her daughter, 4.
 Dawley, 29*n*.
 Deall,—, cipher for his name, 13.
 Deer, red, brought from Germany to Windsor, 9.
 Delamere, Lord, 6.
 De la Querouaille, Louise, Duchess of of Portsmouth, 40.
 Derwentwater, 1st and 2nd Earls, 4, 30.
 Destree, Marshal, 15.
 Detweiler, 40.
 Devonshire House, 33.
 'Dobson,' cipher for—Renaudot, 13.
 Dorchester, Lady, 30*n*.
 Drill instructions of Marshal Turenne, 40.
 Dutch Gardening, 19*n*.
 —troop quartered at Kendal (1649), 18.
- East India Co., James II.'s shares in it 7, 8.
 Echard, —, his History of England referred to, 8*n*.
 Edinburgh, the freedom of the city given to Col. J. Grahme, 38.
 Electioneering at Kendal (1710), 18.
 —and election riots in 1722, 31.
 Elford Hall (Staffs), 2*n*, 35.
 Ely, Francis Turner, Bishop of, 11, 13.
 'Esmond' referred to, 10, 10*n*.
 Evelyn, John, visits Mrs. Grahme 3; his references to Col. J. Grahme's courtship, marriage, &c., 3, 4; his account of the Assassination Plot [Diary 1696, Feb. 26 sq.] referred to, 12; he visits Col. J. Grahme 'in the Fleete,' [*ib*, April 6], *ib*.
 Fawcett Forest, estate there purchased by Alan Bellingham, 1.
 Fell, John, Bishop of Oxford, 13.
 Fenwick, Sir John, married Lady Mary Howard, 12; his execution, *ib*.

Ferguson, R. S., 37.
 Fielding, Basil, 37.
 Fire at Levens Hall, 23, 24.
 Fleet Prison, Col. J. Grahme there, 12, 41.

Fleming, Dr.,—, his Parliamentary candidature (1701), 18.

—, Sir. Daniel and the coinage riots in Kendal, 23.

—, 25.

Fletcher, Sir George, M.P., for Cumberland 37, 38.

Fox, Sir Stephen, 6, 6*n*.

French gardening, 19*n*.

Gardens of Levens Hall, 19, 20.

Gaythorne, estate there purchased by Alan Bellingham, 1.

George I., his treatment of Bolingbroke and his ministry, 29.

George II, 29.

Gibjoun,—, cipher for his name, 13.

Gibraltar, Wm. Grahme wounded in the capture, 5.

Glover,—, his 'Letters of Francis Atterbury' and 'Stuart Papers at Windsor' referred to, 14*n*.

Godolphin, Sydney, Earl, (1640-1712), 13, 26, 27, 28.

Goodricke, H, 41.

Gower, Leveson, Lord, 13, 15, 16, 17.

Graham, Grahame, *see* Grahme.

Grahme, Catherine, Col. James Grahme's heiress, 5; her narrow escape from death, 23; her marriage, 5, 35.

See also Berkshire, Countess of,

—, Dorothy, (*nee* Howard, q.v.), 3; her treatment of smallpox, 4; accident to her, 24; her death, 33; letter from Sir Stephen Fox, 6.

—, Fergus, his career, 12; cipher for his name, 13.

—, (Sir) George, of Netherby, 2.

—, Henry, his marriage, 4, 5, 30; he was of the household of Prince George of Denmark, 5; was M.P. for Westmorland, 4, 4*n*, 18, 20, 21.

—, Col. James, spelling of his name, 1*n*; ciphers for his name, 15; his education, 3; his service in the French army, and under the Duke of Monmouth, 3; his military commissions, 38; his passport signed by Marshal Turenne, 3, 40. He was Privy Purse to Mary of Modena, 38, and to James II., before and after his accession 2, 38, 6; Master of the Hart-hounds and Buckhounds, and Deputy Lieutenant of Windsor Castle, 38. His intimacy with James II., 9; he assists him pecuniarily, 7, 34; and on his ab-

dication acts as the depositary of the royal plate, 7, 34, 39, 40. His courtship, and marriage to Dorothy Howard, 23; their residence at Bagshot, 3, 4; he represents Carlisle, 1684-5, 37; and gives the city a 'great' mace, *ib*; he buys Bellingham estates in Westmorland, 1; is proclaimed, ordered to be prosecuted for high treason, but pardoned, 10, 11; proclaimed a second time, 11; arrested on suspicion of implication in the 'Assassination Plot,' and committed to the Fleet Prison, 12; (copy of warrant, 41). His Oxford cipher, 13, 14; his reasons for professing to give up the Jacobite cause, 30*n*. He retires to Levens, 12; represents Appleby in three Parliaments, 20; and Westmorland in five, 18*n*, 20, 21; supports Dr. Sacheverell in Parliament, 21, 22; his election in 1722, 13; his benefactions to Appleby, 22*n*, of which borough he is elected mayor, 22. His improvements at Levens Hall, 18, 20; he ceases to reside there continuously, 33; being left a widower he marries Elizabeth Harvey, 33; his pecuniary losses, 34, 34*n*, 35; his death, will and burial, 35, 36; his personal appearance, 2; his character, 1, 2; a servant of the king *de facto*, though a Jacobite at heart, 11; compares favourably with Viscount Preston, 30; his humour, 2; two of his brothers suffered as Jacobites, 2.

Letter to Catherine, Lady Berkshire, 36.
 Letters from :—

Banks, Timothy, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24; Barnard, Lord, 28; Bromley, William, 27, 28, 31, 32; Brougham, John, 21, 22; Carlisle Corporation, 37, 38; Gower, Lord, 15-17; Grahme, Metcalf, 24, 25, 28, Hamilton, James, Duke of, 10, 11; Harley, Robert, 25; James, Hugh, 17, 18; Johnstone,—, 32, 33; Middleton, Lord, 14; Peterborough, Charles, 1st Earl, 25, 33; St. John, Henry, 26, 27; Seymour, Sir. F., 20; Weymouth, Thomas, Viscount, 33.

Grahme, Mary, narrowly escapes death, 23.

—, Metcalf, aide-de-camp to the Duke of Marlborough, 24; his description of the battle of Blenheim, *ib*; the battle of Ramillies, 25; his service at Malplaquet, 25; letter to Col. J. Grahme, 28.

—, Richard, (Col. J. Grahme's youngest son), his career, 5.

—, Sir Richard, of Netherby, created

- Fenwick, Viscount Preston, 2.
 —, William, a captain in the navy, his career, 5.
 —, —, Dean of Wells, brother to Col. J. Grahme, 5, 9.
 Grahme family popular at Kendal, 18.
 Gravesend, James II.'s journey thither, 6.
 Guinea Company, James II.'s shares in it, 7.
 Gwynn, Nell, 4.
 Halifax, —, Marquis, 6.
 Hall, —, 22.
 Ham, 6.
 Hamilton, Col. John, second to the Duke of Hamilton in his duel with Lord Mohun, 10.
 —, James, Duke of, Letters to Col. J. Grahme, —his death, 10, 10*n*, 13, 28.
 Hampden, —, extract from his letter to Col. J. Grahme, 17.
 Hampton Court, 9, 19*n*.
 Harley, Robert, 24*n*, 35; letter to Col. J. Grahme, 25; he is created Earl of Oxford, (q.v), 27.
 Harrop, Robert, his 'Bolingbroke' referred to, 27*n*, 29*n*.
 Harset, Msgr., 40.
 Harvey, Elizabeth, marries Col. J. Grahme, 33.
 Harvey, William, M.P. for Appleby, 33.
 'Healing medals' had to be provided by Col. J. Grahme, 8.
 Helsington, estate there purchased by Alan Bellingham, 1.
 Heversham, 35.
 Historical MSS. Commission, Levens MS. reported on for them, 1.
 Holyrood, letter dated there, 10.
 Howard, Dorothy, a maid of honour to Queen Catherine, 2; her marriage to Col. J. Grahme, 3.
 —, Frances, married Richard Bagot, 35.
 —, Henry Bowes, 4th Earl of Berkshire, married Catherine Grahme, 5.
 —, Mary, married Sir John Fenwick, 12.
 —, Mary Greville, 35.
 —, Sir Robert, 7.
 —, Thomas, 9.
 —, William, 2; his lady, *ib*.
 Hyde Park, 10.
 Ingoldstadt, 24.
 Jacobite plots, actual and supposititious, 12, 32.
 Jacobites, a desideratum for them, 20.
 James I, 34*n*.
 James II, 12 *bis*, 14, 36; cipher for his name, 13, 15; Col. J. Grahme was one of his trusted servants, 1; and his Privy Purse, 6, 38; his reputed relationship to the Duchess of Buckingham, 2*n*; his solitary Parliament, 37; M. Beaumont was his gardener, 19*n*; his 'Reasons' for leaving the Country, 8; his presents to domestics, &c., 8, 39; his orders to Wm. Chiffinch, 7; his horses, plate and pictures entrusted to Col. J. Grahme, 7*n*, 34, 39, 40, 33, 34; Col. J. Grahme's pecuniary assistance to him, 34.
 James, Hugh, 17, 18, 33.
 —, the Old Pretender, 30.
 Jenny —, ("My Genny,") cipher for her name, 13.
 Johnstone, Archibald, (of Warriston), 32.
 —, —, Letters to Col. J. Grahme, 32, 33.
 Ken, Thomas, Bishop of Bath and Wells, [1637-1711], 13, 15, 15*n*.
 Kendal, dragoons quartered there (1693), 18; Dutch troops quartered there (1694), 18; electioneering there, 21; Grahme family popular there, 18; riot there (1696), 22, 23; weavers, their petition as to apprenticeship, 21.
 Kettlewell, John, [1653-1695], 13, 15.
 King's evil, Privy Purse had to provide 'healing medals,' 8.
 Kirkby Lonsdale, 22.
 * Knight, the, cipher for James II, 15.
 Lancashire, a stronghold of the Jacobites, 17.
 'Lawyer, your,' cipher for James II, 15.
 Leland, John, his 'Itinerary' referred to, 20*n*.
 Lely, Sir Peter, his portrait of Col. James Grahme, 2*n*; portraits by him at Charlton, 33.
 Levens, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 33.
 — Manor purchased from one of the Redmans by Alan Bellingham, 1; purchased from one of his descendants by Col. James Grahme, 1.
 — Manuscripts reported on by Mr. H. Maxwell Lyte, 1.
 Levens Hall, 'Bishop's room' there, 15.
 —, Col. James Grahme retires thither, 12; his improvements there, 18; fire there, 23, 24; rioters there, 22; Rev. G. F. Weston's 'History,' 19, 20.
 Levens Park, one of the oldest deer parks in England, 20*n*.
 Levestone, Col. —, his regiment of dragoons at Kendal, &c., 18.
 'Lindsy,' cipher for Alexander Robertson, 14.

- Linlithgow, Col. J. Grahme made a freeman, 3, 38.
 Lonsdale, John, 1st Viscount, 13, 22; his quasi-bequest of the representation of Westmorland, 21.
 See also Lowther
 Louis XIV., ciphers for his name, 13; Col. James Grahme held a commission signed by him, 3.
 —, Prince, of Baden, 24, 25.
 Lowther, Major, his candidature for Westmorland, 21.
 —, Sir John, and Richard Braithwaite, 22.
 —, [Robert], 21.
 — family, their claims to Parliamentary representation of Westmorland and contests with the Tufton interest, 18, 21. *See also* Lonsdale.
 — Castle, threat to burn it, 22, 23.
 Lumley, General, 24.
 Luttrell, Narcissus, his Diary cited, 4ⁿ, 11*bis*, 11ⁿ, *his*.
 Lyte, H. Maxwell, his report on Leven-MSS., 1.

 Macartney, General, said to have stabbed Duke of Hamilton, 10, 11.
 Macaulay, T. B., his history cited, 2ⁿ, 13ⁿ, 15ⁿ, 18ⁿ, 24ⁿ.
 Malplaquet, Metcalf Grahme's services at the battle, 26.
 Mann, Horace, Walpole's Letters to him quoted, 20.
 Marlborough, John, 1st Duke of, 11, 24, 25, 26, 28.
 —, his correspondence cited, 26ⁿ.
 —, Sarah, Duchess of, 32.
 Mary of Modena, *see* Duchess of York.
 Melfort, John Drummond, Lord, ciphers for his name, 13.
 Middleton, Charles, Earl, 13; cipher for his name, 13, 14; letters to Col. J. Grahme, 14, 15.
 Modena, Mary of, *see* Duchess of York.
 Mohun, Charles, Lord, his duel with the Duke of Hamilton, 10.
 Money, scarcity of it in 1696; 23.
 Monmouth, James, Duke of, —Col. James Grahme served under him, 3.
 Montagu, Viscount, (1696), 41.
 Montrose, Duke of, 34.
 Mordaunt, Lord, at Blenheim, 25.
 Morpeth, Lord, his regiment, —James Grahme held a Colonelcy in it, 3.
 Musgrave, Sir Christopher, M.P. for Westmorland, 20, 21; his election, (1701), 18.

 Narborough, Sir John, 14.
 Neale, —, his candidature at Coventry, 31.

 Nicolson, Archdeacon, 18.
 Non-jurors and papists in Cumberland and Westmorland, their arms to be sei ed 33.
 Norfolk, Henry, Duke of, (1685), 38.
 —, Thomas, —, (1718), 35ⁿ.
 Northampton, 2.
 Nottingham, Daniel Finch, Earl of, [1647-1730], letter to William III, as to Col. J. Grahme, 30, 30ⁿ.

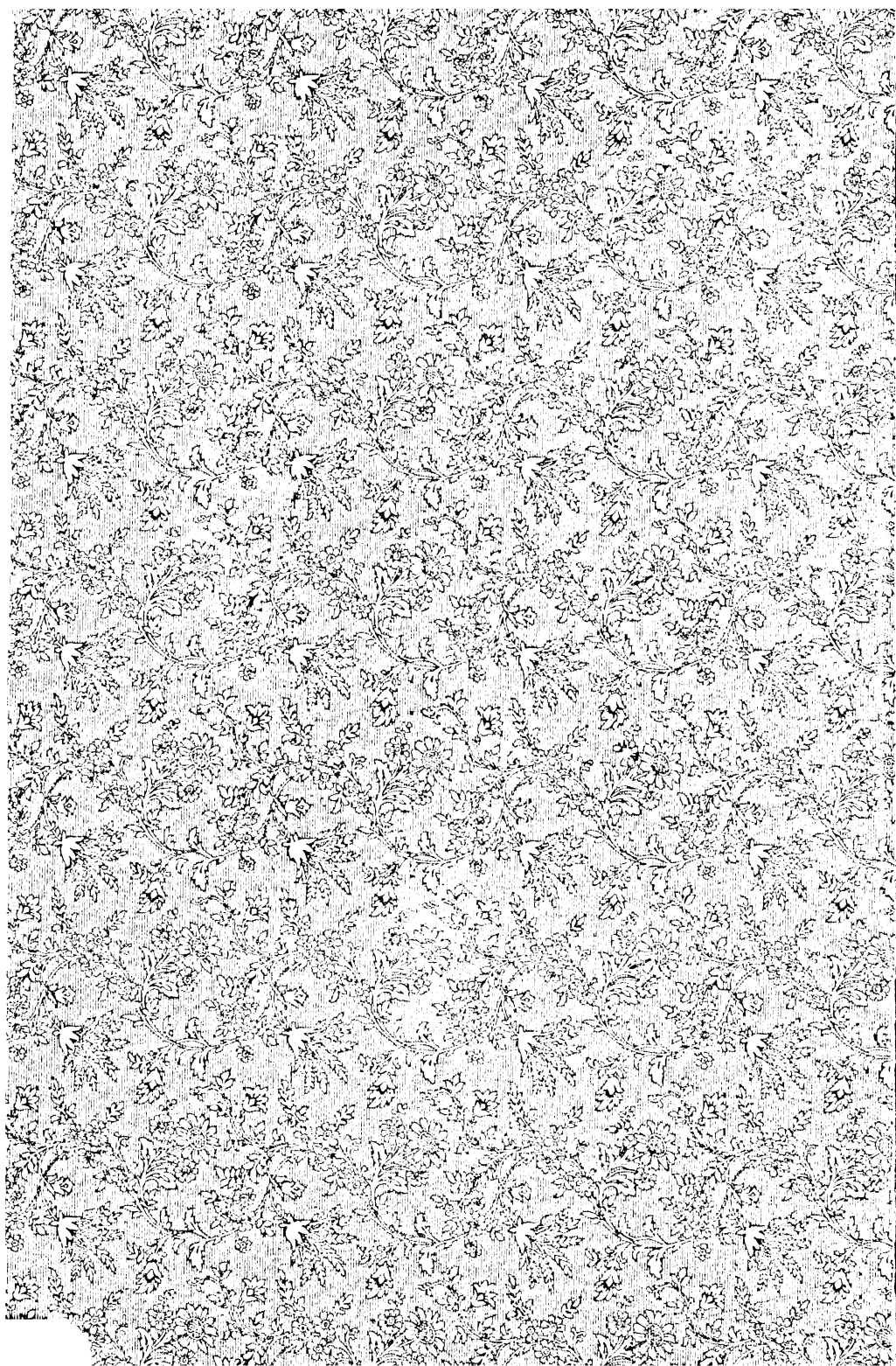
 Old Bailey, 12.
 Orange, Prince of, *see* William III.
 Ormonde, James Butler, 2nd Duke [1665-1745], 29, 32*bis*.
 Orton, 22.
 Over Levens Hall held by Redmayne family 300 years, 1.
 Oxford, Robert Harley, Earl of, 24ⁿ, 27, 29.
 See also Harley Robert.
 Oxford, Col. J. Grahme educated there, 3.
 —, Dorothy, Howard's journey thither in Evelyn's company, 2.
 ' Oxford ' cipher, 13, 14.
 ' Oxford,' pseudonym for France, 8.

 Paget, Rev. Francis E., his ' Student Penitent of 1695,' 5.
 —, his ' Ashtead, and its Howard possessors ' referred to, 34ⁿ.
 ' Pallsworth, Sir Humphrey,' cipher for Col. J. Grahme, 15.
 Papists and non-jurors in Cumberland and Westmorland, their arms to be seized, 33.
 Paris, 8.
 Passports of Col. J. Grahme signed by Marshal Turenne, &c., 3, 40.
 ' Paull, Sir,' cipher for Col. J. Grahme, 15.
 Pepys, Samuel, 3; his criticism of Moll Davis, 4.
 ' Perch, percher,' —what? 32, 28, 29.
 Perpignan, 25.
 Peterborough, Charles, 1st Earl [1668-1735], 13.
 —, letters to Col. J. Grahme, 25, 33.
 ' Peveril of the Peak,' description of William Chiffinch there, 6ⁿ.
 Philip V, letter to Duke of Marlborough, 25.
 ' Polesworth, Sir Humphrey, *see* Palls-worth, Sir H.,
 Pope, Alexander, 29.
 Portland, William, 1st Earl [1649-1709], 9.
 Portraits of Col. J. Grahme, 2ⁿ.
 Portsmouth, Louise, Duchess of, her annuity, 40.
 —, —, cipher for his name, 13.

- Portsmouth, 3.
 Powis, Sir T., 7.
 Powlett, Lord, his charges against the Duke of Marlborough, 26.
 Preston, Richard Grahme, 1st Viscount, 2, 7ⁿ, 13, 31; he is sentenced to death, but pardoned, 11, 12.
 —, his character compares unfavourably with his brother's, 30.
 —, Viscountess, 12.
- Raby Castle, letter dated there, 28.
 Ramilies, Metcalf Grahme's description of the battle, 25, 26.
 Ranelagh, Lord, (1696), 41.
 Ratcliff, Sir Francis, (1st Earl of Derwentwater), 4.
 —, (2nd Earl of Derwentwater), married Mary Tudor, 4.
 Redington, —, his edition of the Treasury Papers referred to, 8ⁿ.
 Redman, Matthew de, M.P. for Westmorland (1357), encloses Levens Park (1360), 20ⁿ.
 Redman *or* Redmayne family resided at Over Levens Hall from 1187-1487, 1.
 Renaudot, —, cipher for his name, 13.
 Riots at Coventry and elsewhere at 1722 election, 31.
 Riot at Kendal (1696), 22, 23.
 Roads of Levens district impassable by coach, 20.
 'Roberts' [Lord Robartes?], cipher for his name, 14.
 Robertson, Alexander, cipher for his name, 14.
 Rochester, 7*bis*.
 —, James II.'s flight thither, 6.
 Rooke, Sir George, (1650-1709), 13; Wm. Grahme served under him, 5.
 —, (son of above), married Henry Grahme's widow, 5.
 Rosey, —, cipher for his name, 13.
 Rounthwaite, 22, 23.
 Rupert, Prince, Col. J. Grahme held a commission signed by him, 3.
 Rydal Hall, threatened attack by Kendal mob, 23.
 Ryswick, Peace of, its intelligibility, 11.
- Sacheverell, Dr. H., his popularity, 21, 22, 29.
 St. James' Palace, 3, 6, 34.
 St. John, Henry, his tastes 26; his character, 27; becomes Secretary of State, *ib.*
 — letters to Col. J. Grahme, 26, 27.
 See also Bolingbroke, Earl of.
 Sandford, Sir Richard, his election as M.P. for Westmorland (1701), 18.
- Saxton, —, his map of Westmorland referred to, 20ⁿ.
 Scarsdale, Lord, proclaimed for treason along with Col. J. Grahme, 11.
 Schonberg and Leinster, Duke of, 41.
 Scott, Sir Walter, his 'Peveril of the Peak' referred to, 6ⁿ.
 Seymour, Sir E., extract from letter to Col. J. Grahme, 20.
 Shrewsbury, Earl (1638), 6.
 'Simpson Jones,' cipher for 'Roberts' [Lord Robartes?], 14.
 Sizergh Hall, 2ⁿ, 18, 22.
 Skipwith, —, his candidature at Coventry 31.
 Small-pox, strange treatment of it, 4.
 Smollett, Tobias, his History of England referred to, 10ⁿ, 11ⁿ.
 Soldiers brought up to vote at Coventry, 31.
 South Sea Bubble, 31, 32, 33.
 Stamford, Earl of, (1696), 41.
 Stanhope, Philip Henry, Earl, his History cited, 19ⁿ.
 —, James, 1st Earl, [1673-1720] his share in the South Sea Scheme, 31.
 'Stanislaus,' cipher for, 15.
 Stirling, Col. J. Grahme made a freeman of the burgh, 3, 38.
 Stratton Street, (London), 33.
 Strickland, Sir Thomas, Privy Purse to Catherine of Braganza, 20ⁿ.
 'Stuart Papers at Windsor,' (ed. Glover) referred to, 14ⁿ.
 'Student Penitent of 1695' compiled from correspondence as to Richard Grahme, 5.
 Suffolk, Henry Howard, (4th Earl of Berkshire) succeeds to the Earldom, 35ⁿ.
 —, Thomas, 16th Earl, (and 9th of Berkshire), 34.
 Sunderland, Charles Spencer, 3rd Earl, [1674-1722] his share in the South Sea scheme; his dismissal, 28; his death, 32*bis*; *post mortem* charges against him, 32.
 Swift, Jonathan, Dean of St. Patrick's, 10, 29.
 'Sydick,' cipher for Lord Courcey, 13.
 Sylvius, Lady Anne, 6.
- Tallard, Marshal, 24.
 Tankerville, Ford Grey, Earl of, 41.
 Thackeray, W. M., his Esmond referred to, 10, 10ⁿ.
 Thanet, Thomas, 6th Earl, 13; supports Henry Grahme's candidature for Westmorland, and Col. J. Grahme's for Appleby, 21.
 See also Tufton.

- Thanet crest on bowls at Levens Hall. 19.
 Tightness of money (1696), 23.
 Todd, Hugh, his letters to Richard Grahme, 5.
 'Toncroft,' cipher for Lord Middleton, 23.
 'Topiary,' gardening, 19, 19ⁿ, 20.
 'Treasury Papers,' (ed. Redington) referred to, 8ⁿ.
 'Trotter,' cipher for Lord Melfort, 13.
 Tudor, Mary, natural daughter of Charles II., married Henry Grahme, &c., 4.
 Tufton and Lowther families claimed to control the Parliamentary representation of Westmorland, 18.
 —influence exerted against Col. James Grahme, 22.
 See also Thanet, Earls of,
 Turenne, Marshall, 3, 40.
 Turner, Francis, Bishop of Ely, 11, 13.
 —, Sir Wm., James II., writes him from Rochester, 7.
 Upper Levens *see* Over Levens.
 Uxbridge, 29ⁿ.
 Villeroi, Marshal, his defeat at Ramilies, 25.
 Voltaire, 29.
 Walpole, Horace, 33; his description of Col. J. Grahme, 2, 2ⁿ, *bis*.
 Warriston, 32.
 Waugh,—, cipher for his name, 13.
 Wells, William Grahme was Dean of the city, 5. 9.
 Westminster, Col. James Grahme educated there, 3.
 Westmorland, Knights of the Shire :
 Bellingham, Alan, 20; Grahme, Henry, 20, 21; Grahme, Col. James, *ib*; Musgrave, Sir Christopher, 20; Redman, Matthew de, 20ⁿ; Wilson, Daniel, 18ⁿ.
 Westmorland election 1701, 18.
 —elections used to be family rather than party contests, *ib*.
 —Papists and non-jurors, their arms to be seized, 33.
 —people favourable to Jacobites, 17.
 —, Viscount Preston was Lord Lieutenant, 2.
 Weston, Rev. G. F., his 'History of Levens Hall' referred to, 19, 20.
 Weymouth, Thomas Thynne, Viscount, 13; letter to Col. J. Grahme, 33.
 Wharton,—, Duke, recommends Col. J. Grahme at Appleby, 22.
 —, Thomas, 41.
 Whitehall, letters &c., dated there, 6, 28, 41.
 Whitehaven, 20.
 William III., 30; cipher for his name, 13; his relations to Col. J. Grahme &c., 9; hands his predecessors pictures to him, 33, 34.
 Wilson, Allan, 22.
 —, Daniel, elected M.P. for Westmorland (1701), 18ⁿ.
 Windsor, 9.
 —Castle and Forest, deputy lieutenantancy granted to Col. J. Grahme, 3, 38.
 —Park, importation thither of red deer, 9.
 Wright, Thomas, his 'Caricature History of the Georges' referred to, 31ⁿ.
 Wycherley, William, 13.
 Yew summer-house at Levens, wig-shaped, with portrait of Col. J. Grahme, 19.
 York and Albany, Duchess of, Col. J. Grahme her privy purse, 38.
 —, James, Duke of, Col. J. Grahme was subsequently his privy purse, 2, 38.
 See also James II.

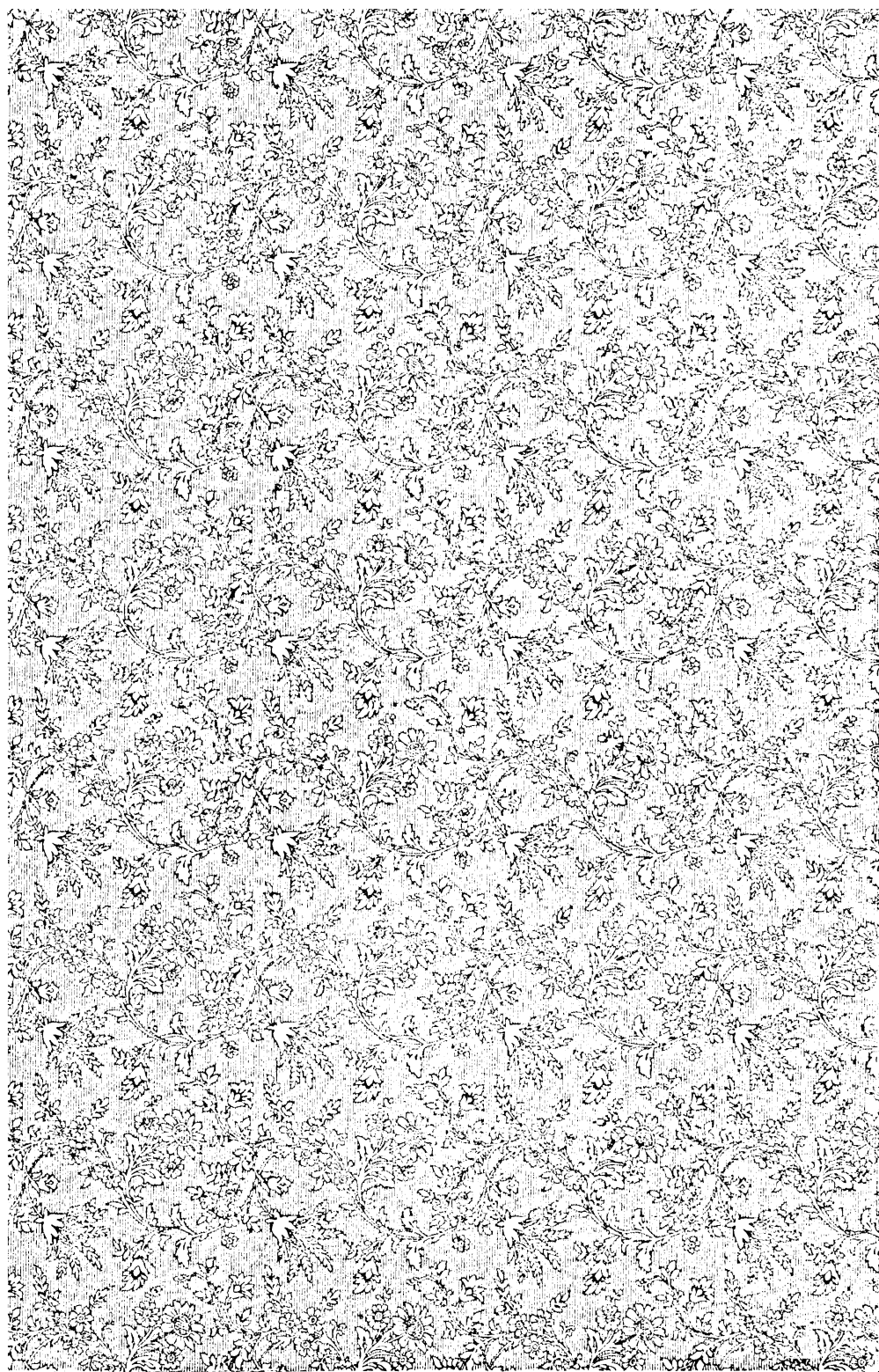
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JUL 17 1913

JUL 18 1913

JUL 19 1913



JUL 17 1913

JUL 18 1913

JUL 19 1913